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THE SPARTANS OF PARIS

LEAVES FROM MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY

[Conclusion from page 102.]

M. THÉOPHILE GAUTIER, or Théo, as he was affectionately termed by his intimates, our third founder, was a man of great original powers. There was a certain dreamy, far-away look in his dark eyes, and a sort of mystery enveloped his personality. When he sat down at our Spartan table one never knew exactly what would spring forth from his mobile lips. At the beginning of the repast he was inclined to be silent, but when the dinner had satisfactorily progressed, and the warming influences of a wholesome Burgundy had permeated his being, some stray remark would strike upon his ear, and form the text or point of departure of a discourse to which every one listened with eager ears. There was a picturesque *finesse* in his use of French which I have never heard equaled except in the case of Sainte Beuve. He knew all the sinuosities and intricacies of his beautiful mother tongue, and the most extraordinary and sometimes the most repellent ideas were thrown out in such exquisite language that no shock was experienced, and the only effect was the admiration one felt for his supreme mastery, through beauty of form, over innate ugliness of matter. But these were little *tours de force*, for he loved to play from time to time with the difficulties of a *risquée* situation, and to cover with the flowers of his poetic imagination the noisome depths which he traversed with an unfaltering step. But, passing from this species of literary jugglery, he would suddenly emerge into the clear, high air of some spiritual theme where the glorious qualities of his imagination shone forth with surprising vigor. In speaking of persons he would strike off a vivid portrait in half a dozen words. The man had been dead perhaps fifty years, but he stood before you clothed in the realities of life and spoke to you.

Whoever has lived in the East for many years, as I have done, cannot fail to express his astonishment at the insight of Théophile Gautier, at the power he had to enter into the innermost secrets of that strange world, to picture in words the color, the atmosphere, the surroundings, the habits of

thought, the natural impulses, more or less restricted by the conditions of education, the strange, weird influences of centuries which have gone, slightly tinged by the vigorous flood of modern ideas flowing from the West. Here was a man who seized all these extraordinary contrasts, and opened to you a view of peoples and countries which, if you have never seen, you now know through his transcendent genius.

It is commonly said that as a rule powerful writers are not interesting talkers. This is certainly not the truth with regard to the best French writers. I know not one of them who cannot amuse or instruct at table, but among them all two shone pre-eminent in the latter field—M. Sainte Beuve and M. Théophile Gautier. Opposite as the poles in their methods of thought, in their lines of genius, they each expressed original ideas, and they resembled each other in their minute mastery over the greatest conversational medium which exists.

M. Francis Magnard stands in a niche by himself, and at the same time is one of the most companionable of Spartans. He is the director and the editor-in-chief of the *Figaro*; but more than this, he is the director and keeper of the political conscience of a wide circle. He has created for himself a field in which he is unrivaled. He is brief, pithy, direct, sensible. His political articles on the first page of his paper have a greater weight than uninformed foreigners imagine. He is distinguished by that grand trait, common sense, and by calmness of judgment in the midst of the most exciting surroundings. Not that he is devoid of ardor and force of imagination, for he possesses these gifts in a superabundant degree, but they are held in check by the overpowering force of a wholesome wisdom. In the heat of discussion after dinner, while his arguments had all the force and coloring which energy and fancy could give them, they always retained the inner core of cold common sense.

When that robust and manly personality, M. Robert Mitchell, took his place at our table he was in the full strength of exuberant youth, and covered with the laurels he had won in the late war; and he proved to be a loyal friend, a brilliant and *spirituel* man of the world, who added another note of joyous gayety to our gathering, tempered by a tone of serious thought and solid information.

M. Bardoux, another Spartan, a distinguished figure in literature, some years ago naturally took possession of the ministry of public instruction, and is now one of the vice-presidents of the senate. His conversation is replete with historical lore, administered without pedantry, enveloped in the flowers of fancy, yet retaining absolute accuracy. The man of letters, the minister, the presiding officer, march side by side, each remarkable for

the admirable manner in which he fills his rôle. M. Bardoux may be said to have achieved success in three honorable and difficult departments.

Our colleague, M. du Sommerard, possessed a most sympathetic person and manner. He had associated with the most interesting personages of his time, was saturated with all the secrets of archæology, and at the same time never ceased to be a man of the world and of society. His father had collected those treasures that are placed in the Hôtel de Cluny, which the government purchased, making him the director of that famous museum. The son was trained under the father's eye, and when the latter died naturally assumed his place. The son's individual genius, his extensive acquirements, his *flair* in the search for real as against fictitious antiquities, made him one of the most remarkable men of the age in his department. He had traveled in every known and unknown country; he had searched the secrets of all the treasure-houses of the world; he had dwelt in the palaces of Great Britain and the continent, and had not neglected the cottages of the peasants, where he had found some of his choicest treasures; and he returned from each experience with a new batch of telling anecdotes, and with a larger accumulation of exact and wonderful knowledge. The last time I saw him was at the marriage of his daughter, when he walked up the broad aisle of the old church and stopped for a moment to greet me with a few pleasant words. The sun shone through the high windows and poured a flood of light upon his powerful head and intellectual face, and I shall always remember his smile as he turned away on his march to the great altar.

If you were to meet M. Jules Claretie in a railway carriage, with no clew to his identity, after passing half an hour with him, more or less, you would leave this Spartan with the impression that he is one of the most agreeable and charming men that you ever met, and you would feel that you yourself are a man of great merit, and at least two inches higher intellectually than the world generally supposes you to be. This grace of manner, this sympathetic power of entering into the innermost wishes and feelings of even a casual acquaintance, this subtle flattery, which while it benefits the receiver enhances in the latter's eyes the value of the giver, is an unaffected and natural element in M. Claretie's character. It is actual; it is real; there is nothing false about it; there is nothing put on. He cannot help it, fortunately for him. Without perhaps being aware of it, he analyzes instantly, intuitively, the person before him, and his gracious and kindly character administers to that being's soul the nourishment which it craves. It is needless to say that a genius of this kind is a welcome addition to any company.

But this is only one of the many astonishing gifts of this many-sided man. What has he not done? What intellectual field has he left unplowed? Where has he failed to wander? And from what mind or source has he failed to draw all that is best and most nourishing? Beginning as a writer of novels at the Lycée Bonaparte at fifteen years of age, his pen seems never to have slumbered or slept from that day to this, and you could decorate one side of your library with the interesting and valuable volumes which are the creations of his brain. Side by side with his literary labors were his labors as a journalist, and now his reward has arrived in the most substantial recognition which can be given to a man of letters in France, for he is a member of the French Academy. A scarcely less glorious title he also possesses—that of director of the *Comédie Française*. Here he has won new laurels, and added to his preceding triumphs the applause which waits upon success in this most difficult position. M. Jules Claretie does not seem to be an overworked man, for he does not show the effects of his extraordinary activity, and he appears always to have time to dine and to converse in the most agreeable and original manner.

Some time ago there appeared in the French illustrated papers the portrait of another Spartan, the Vicomte de Borelli, a gallant soldier, who at the same time is a masculine, vigorous, attractive poet; the type of a *beau sabreur*, with his black eyebrows, his large military mustache, his curling, silvery hair, his fine head strongly planted upon the shoulders of a warrior—a knight of the olden time, who has conquered the honors of age while still remaining young. We talked together some time since of the Duke de Noailles's recently published work upon America, *Cent Ans de République aux États Unis*. I remarked that it is a work of admirable quality and great research, and is extremely interesting as presenting the point of view of a liberal-minded royalist, and also because these volumes emanate from the head of a great family which assisted its relatives the De Lafayettes in their efforts in the last century in behalf of America. I sincerely hope to see the author elected a member of the French Academy, an honor to which his talents and learning clearly entitle him. His father, the late duke, a member of that celebrated body, sent me many years ago several volumes with autographic dedications, and renewed the friendship which had existed in the last century between his relatives and mine. The younger brother of the present duke, Marquis de Noailles, twenty years since strengthened, by his successful mission at Washington, the feelings of gratitude entertained by America towards his family for gallant services in our Revolution.



M. JULES CLARETIE IN HIS STUDY.

While mentioning these facts to M. de Borelli, the figure of the present duke rose in my mind. He is an extremely attractive man, worthy of his race and of his name; of medium height, slender figure, gray hair curling at the sides and getting somewhat thin on the crown of the head, a large, graceful mustache and English whiskers, a straight nose, fine mouth, and expressive eyes; altogether a handsome and interesting man. He looks fifty-five, but to my astonishment the *Almanach de Gotha* says he is sixty-four.

We have several other poets in our company, among them M. Théodore de Banville, whose prose and verse for the last forty years have delighted the public, and whose death is announced as I write these words. He was one of the last of the romantic school, whose foundations were built upon the lines laid down by Victor Hugo, Lamartine, and Alfred de Musset. His dear and intimate friend, M. Auguste Vacquerie, in feeling words sums up his character thus: "The man was worthy of the poet. He was faithful in friendship, and, what is still more rare, in admiration. He was never tired of saluting *chef-d'œuvre*. There are

people who imagine that in belittling genius they are increasing their own importance. Imbeciles! Envy is an avowal of inferiority. Banville knew not jealousy. He could say with Victor Hugo:

“Poète, j'eus toujours un chant pour les poètes,
Et jamais le laurier qui pare d'autres têtes
N'a jeté d'ombre sur mon front.”

“Enthusiastic for others, he was modest for himself. The friend is dead, but the poet will live.”

M. de Banville, like most of his generation, was an indefatigable worker, and has left behind him a great number of novels, criticisms, and poems which will inevitably preserve his name from oblivion. Grace and delicacy were the attributes which distinguished his prose and his verse. He possessed the power of bitter and scathing sarcasm, but this was the one of his many varied gifts which he never exercised. Sometimes, as he sat at our table, some inward thought would give rise to a flicker of mockery, which disappeared like dew before the sun as his warm heart reassumed its sway. He loved the peace and tranquillity which his little garden gave him in the Rue de l'Eperon. He sang his way easily and merrily through life, and at the last was supported by his supreme belief in religion and the immortality of the soul.

M. François Coppée is a Spartan whose volumes have a larger sale than those of any other French poet of the present day, reaching sometimes three thousand, in one instance six thousand copies—indicating exceptional qualities which have touched the popular heart, and opened to him the doors of the French Academy as well as those of the Spartans.

M. François Coppée's exquisite gems are to be found in the collections of all the religious institutions of France. They appeal to the highest sentiments of the human soul, in language worthy of the text. M. Coppée shines colloquially as well as in the field of literature. As M. de Goncourt said to me: “Every one must acknowledge that M. Coppée is a brilliant conversationalist.” I remember a charming talk where M. François Coppée and M. Victorien Sardou discoursed in their best vein. Each is a foil to the other, and each distinguished himself in his own original manner. M. Coppée is an interesting combination of earnest thinking and vivid feeling, lighted up by a spirit of fun and witticism. His handsome, dark face has a serious expression in repose, but when wit and laughter pass around the table he is among the quickest at repartee.

M. Sardou, on the occasion above referred to, spoke to me of Voltaire as a *génie malade*. I replied, “Yes, that is true; I have four hundred of

his unpublished autograph letters. The first half are written with bile; the last with ink, and even with the milk of human kindness." M. Sardou bears a curious resemblance to Voltaire, which will increase with age. He is an indefatigable and delightful talker. Fact and fancy roll forth with alliterative power, and the flood of his dinner-table eloquence sweeps all before it. One who has been accustomed to think of M. Sardou simply as a writer of plays is astonished to discover his exact acquaintance with history, and his accurate knowledge of the truth or falsity of theories concerning personages or states. This knowledge took its rise in the studies which he pursued originally as a professor of history.

The Count Nigra, or the Chevalier Nigra, as he was styled when I first knew him, another brother Spartan, had been the protégé and friend of the Count de Cavour, who finally sent him, in 1860-61, while still an extremely young man, to represent Italy at the imperial court. The fifteen years which he passed here were years of the keenest enjoyment and the most extensive usefulness. For his polished and genial manners, his Parisian adaptability, and the many other qualities in which he resembled the French, made him an acceptable guest in official and private circles. He was assiduous in his attendance at our Spartan dinners, and never failed to bring with him some interesting piece of news or some apt anecdote.

I well recollect the occasion of my first acquaintance with him. It was at a dinner given by the minister of fine arts and Madame Maurice Richard, at the ministry in the Rue de Grenelle St. Germain, on the 15th of June, 1870, a few weeks before the declaration of war. The ministry was the last resting-place of the Austrian embassy. Its salons were larger, without presenting the accumulation of luxury and art displayed in some of the others. The principal peculiarity consisted in the fact that all the salons were hung in yellow satin damask. Forty-eight gentlemen sat down to dinner, the minister occupying the centre of the table, with Madame Maurice Richard opposite. Among those present were several other members of the cabinet, and numerous dignitaries of high rank. In spite of his natural vigor of character, M. Maurice Richard was the most genial of men, and peculiarly fitted to play the part of chief of the æsthetic ministry of the government. On one occasion before the war I remember that he invited me to accompany him to visit the then uncompleted opera-house, which was within his jurisdiction. We explored this wonderful building from cellar to turret. As we stood upon the vast stage, unincumbered by scenery, it seemed impossible that the human voice could fill that great space as well as the auditorium. The doubts we experienced at that moment have proved to be well founded in the

case of several famous singers, whose voices have been strained by the excessive effort required to make themselves heard.

M. Maurice Richard pointed out to me the various styles of decoration which would be finally used throughout, and mentioned a sum of money as the total cost which I do not now exactly remember; but suffice it to say that, in finishing the opera-house after the war, in the absence of sufficient funds the utmost economy was carried out, although by ingenious devices an agreeable effect was produced, and the building, as a whole, is the greatest success.

But to return to the dinner of which I was speaking. The minister of Italy escorted Madame Maurice Richard and occupied the seat on her right, and I occupied the seat upon her left next to M. Nigra. After some pleasant talk with Madame Maurice Richard, I fell into conversation with the Chevalier Nigra, who was above the medium height, tall and slender, with a full head of very dark chestnut hair, worn somewhat long, and a face cleanly shaven save for a long, drooping mustache. He had dark brown eyes, a large and well-formed nose, slightly aquiline, a well-balanced chin, and a forehead with perceptives and reflectives well developed. He was exactly forty-three years and three days old. Like most Italians, he was very moderate in eating and drinking. He had a pleasant face and frank and charming manners. We found mutual acquaintances in M. Cerutti, the former minister of Italy in Washington, and Count Piper, at that moment Swedish minister in Florence. We talked of every conceivable subject until in some accidental manner we fell upon the subject of the old Irish tongue, and to my astonishment I found I had before me a profound Irish scholar. It was he who discovered at the monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, the famous manuscript in which is the oldest example of the Irish language thus far known. This manuscript consists of a work of one of the Latin fathers, upon the margin of which an Irish monk in the ninth century wrote down his reflections in his native tongue.

After dinner we strolled into the beautiful gardens of the ministry, so engrossed in talk that we forgot the lapse of time, and when we entered the reception-rooms we found them already filled to overflowing with a brilliant assemblage which had arrived in our absence. There was the refined and handsome face of Djemil Pasha, and near him, in listening attitude, M. Émile Ollivier, minister of justice and chief of the cabinet, whose meridional countenance expressed æsthetic enjoyment. Mademoiselle Marie Roze was singing to this interesting and appreciative audience.

A few days later M. Nigra sent me his *Glossa Hibernica Veteres Codicis*

Taurinensis, and afterwards his *Reliquie Celtiche*. The remarkable erudition of the Chevalier Nigra made a deep impression upon me, and led to my proposing him an honorary member of the Royal Irish Academy.

Some time afterwards my intimate and dear friend, Lord Talbot de Malahide, came to Paris, and I invited the Chevalier Nigra to meet him at dinner. The minister escorted Mrs. Meredith Read, and I placed Lord Talbot de Malahide, to whom I had spoken of M. Nigra's Irish learning, next to the latter. Lord Talbot de Malahide was at that time president of the Royal Irish Academy, and a remarkable authority upon Irish history and antiquities. He expressed to me afterwards the astonishment he experienced in encountering such erudition as the Chevalier Nigra displayed in conversation upon the Irish language and remains. Before his departure M. Nigra invited Lord Talbot de Malahide and myself to dine with him the next day. The dinner was *en petit comité*, and, if I remember rightly, besides ourselves and the minister there was no one present except the accomplished and charming secretary, M. Ressman. The Italian legation at that time occupied the fine hôtel on the Rond Point, which had before been the residence of the Duke de Morny. The dining-hall was of large dimensions and very lofty, containing at its end a beautifully graceful *escalier d'honneur*, leading to a balcony where musicians were sometimes placed on the occasion of great *fêtes*, and from whence access was had to the second floor. After dinner we ascended to the private apartments of the minister, and in one of the rooms we found laid out upon a long table a series of volumes of Irish songs. M. Nigra had sent an agent to Ireland with instructions to travel from one end of the land to the other, and write down the popular songs repeated to him by the peasantry, and the marvelous collection before us was the result of that labor.

The *Dîner des Spartiates* was founded under the empire by MM. Arsène Houssaye, Paul de Saint Victor, and Théophile Gautier, continuing the traditions of the brilliant dinner talk of Sainte Beuve and Victor Hugo. M. Houssaye naturally became the presiding officer, because he is a man who is thoroughly liked in every group into which he enters. Endowed with exceptional social gifts, he shines in the interchange of quick repartee, while anecdotes drawn from his marvelous stores are told with a piquancy which lights up the table. Our dinners were held for many years at the Trois Frères Provençaux, afterwards at the Moulin Rouge in the avenue d'Antin, and during the summer at the Café des Ambassadeurs; at a later date at the Hôtel Continental; then at the Lion d'Or, and now we meet at the Café Riche. As we have no baggage except intellectual stores, which are readily carried in a limited space, it is easy to move from one

place to another. Some of us, I am afraid, are always in light marching order in the latter respect.

Among the earliest recruits was myself, who, in 1873, proposed Lord Lytton for membership. Each Spartan is expected to make payment in two kinds: first, in cash for his dinner, which is not a heavy drain, and secondly, in drafts upon his intellectual resources. If one looks at the list he finds that it embraces many of the most brilliant men who have adorned the Parisian capital for the last quarter of a century, among them M. Charles Monselet, and M. Paul Lacroix—widely known as the Bibliophile Jacob. The latter told me, when he was eighty years of age, that he still worked eleven hours a day upon that wonderful series of beautiful, learned, and entertaining volumes which have opened to us the artistic features of the middle ages, and of succeeding centuries down to our own.

M. Paul Lacroix was filled with the memories of the most interesting personages who had figured in France for the last sixty years, to say nothing of his many intimate acquaintances in preceding ages. The piquant manner in which he conveyed his information greatly added to its interest and value. Monsieur Monselet's premature decease deprived us of an engaging companion whose knowledge of the culinary art has given his name to several famous dishes, while his literary essays in various departments find a cherished place in all libraries. That admirable and interesting man, M. Raoul Duval, took part in our meetings up to the time of his death. His conversation was filled with a manly and vigorous patriotism, and his relations with his fellow-members were calculated to add affection to the respect which his noble nature evoked.

I have said that I was elected to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the Duke de Persigny, who was a friend of mine. In commemoration of him I purchased, at the sale of his collections, a charming portrait of a great beauty of the last century, by Largillière, which still adorns my drawing-room. The duke was a man of great force of character, and associated from its inception with the Bonapartist movement which placed Napoleon III. upon the imperial throne; and I well remember a remarkable conversation held with him a few weeks before his death, during which he sketched for me the strong and weak points of that extraordinary epoch. He had a decided, incisive manner of speaking, and his ardent yet steadfast character was evinced in the way in which he plunged into conversation, always keeping clearly in view the main theme, while illustrating it by apt reflections or anecdotes. He had an immense will lodged in a small frame; but although he was filled with nervous energy and almost electrical power, and was capable of bearing

great fatigue, the fall of the empire and the changes which followed so affected him that he died prematurely, three days after he had completed his sixty-fourth year—for he was so constituted that he would have lived a hundred years in ordinary times. In those last days he seemed to be consumed by a continual fever which did not prevent his moving about, but, nevertheless, insidiously sapped his vital force. The last time that I



LORD LYTTON (OWEN MEREDITH).

saw him was at the house of a mutual friend, where, after dinner, he drew me aside and conversed nearly two hours. Another agreeable member was the Duke d'Acquaviva, who also died prematurely many years ago.

It was in 1873 that I proposed Lord Lytton (Owen Meredith). Up to that time Count Nigra, the Italian ambassador, and myself were the only foreign members, and there have never been any others, with the exception of General Türr, who married the Princess Bonaparte-Wyse. Lord

Lytton is now our president, upon the suggestion of our only surviving founder, M. Arsène Houssaye. Lord Lytton, without the smallest affection or pretense, listens intently while those about him are speaking, and suddenly awakens their enthusiasm by a brilliant *mot* and sends the ball of conversation forward by a profound suggestion. My earliest memory of the present Lord Lytton goes back to the summer of 1849. My father, the late Chief-Judge John Meredith Read, had for many years frequented Ballston Springs and Lebanon Springs, which were in the first quarter of this century the most fashionable American watering-places. Since that time for twenty-five years he had been a constant visitor at Saratoga. Thither I accompanied him from Philadelphia at the mature age of twelve, in the year above mentioned. Sir Henry Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling and Bulwer, was then British minister at Washington, and also came to Saratoga with his nephew, an attaché.

The latter, the future Owen Meredith, author of *Lucille* and many other renowned works, was at that time a youth of eighteen years, whose graceful figure, classic features, fine complexion, and Grecian head, crowned with tightly curling chestnut hair, carried one back to the best days of Athens, when beauty, grace, and culture were to the fore. In 1857 I met in London the latter's father, the famous novelist, dramatist, and statesman, the first Lord Lytton. He had a remarkable face, his conversation was full of originality and wit, and his costume marked him as one of the fashionable men of the day. He wore three waistcoats, in red, white, and blue, and the collar of his evening coat was of black velvet.

Years afterwards I occupied at Hyères an apartment wherein Lord Lytton had written two of his celebrated novels. The proprietor told me that several times, when he had paid his respects to him, he found him knee-deep in manuscript. He had the habit of writing swiftly a page, and then of throwing it over his shoulder; and this continued until he had completed the three hours which he daily devoted to composition. His brother, Sir Henry Bulwer, afterwards Lord Dalling, and British ambassador at Constantinople, had a similar habit of writing his dispatches. Few men wrote more rapidly than the elder Lord Lytton, but this was the result of great study and preparation; and the library of note-books which he has left behind him shows that he was a profound student as well as a ready writer. I well remember that collection, and also a magnificent gold toilet service which one of his admirers—a lady—sent to him anonymously after the publication of *Pelham*. They were in the delightful residence which his son, the present Lord Lytton, occupied in the Faubourg St. Germain in 1873; and it was at this time that the friendship

between Lord Lytton and myself sprung up, which has continued to flourish and strengthen as the years have rolled on.

The graceful beauty and social tact of Lady Lytton, a niece of the celebrated Lord Clarendon, drew to her salons all the most distinguished and interesting people in Paris. The social, political, and intellectual life of the capital was most brilliantly represented, and it was agreeable to find a salon of foreign origin which vied with the best specimens of indigenous growth. The genius of Lord Lytton has its French side, which has contributed to make him extremely popular as a representative of Her Britannic Majesty in France.

Lord Chesterfield, in the last century, was a member of the Institute of France, and in this his relative, the late Lord Stanhope, was an associate of that illustrious body. Lord Lytton, who has a world-wide reputation both in prose and verse, will also doubtless be called to a seat in that assembly of the intellectual élite.

I may be permitted in this connection an aside. When my lamented friend, the fifth Earl Stanhope, known in earlier life as Lord Mahon, the historian, was elected a foreign associate of the Institute of France, he said to me: "This is an honor which ought to be bestowed upon our friend Mr. John Lothrop Motley. You know a great many members of the Institute; strive in every way in your power to promote his election, and I will do the same." Strange to say, Lord Stanhope died ere his wish was consummated, and Mr. Motley was elected to the chair he had filled.

To return to the first Lord Lytton—it would seem to be superfluous to mention his labors in detail, for he excelled in so many different directions. But, having gone through the German siege of Paris and the Commune, I may be permitted to say that I have always felt his work, *The Parisians*, to be a marvelous one for a man who was not here at that time. The local color, the atmosphere, are perfect. Lord Lytton wrote another remarkable book, now about to be dramatized, published anonymously a short time before his death, entitled *The Coming Race*, in which he foretold many of the wonderful inventions since brought before the world, and others which are doubtless on the eve of being discovered.

In 1873, upon my invitation, as I have remarked, the present Lord Lytton attended one of the *Diners des Spartiates*, and expressed himself delighted with that experience. Whereupon, with his assent, I proposed him for membership, and from that day to this he has been a faithful member and, even when viceroy in India, continued to send most agreeable messages to his Spartan colleagues in Paris. It was at this time that he sent me his father's *Parisians*, of which I have already spoken, and

some of the proof-sheets of his own *Fables in Song*. The latter struck me as an admirable performance, and I hastened to say thus much to him. In his reply he remarked that this series of fables should be judged as a whole, "for it is the variety and range of them which constitute any merit they may possess." I can only say that my first impressions were completely confirmed by my subsequent perusal of the entire work.

M. Arsène Houssaye, at a meeting of the Spartans last year, gave us a spirited French translation of one of these fables, accompanied by characteristically witty remarks. Formerly Lord Lytton found time to exercise his genius both in prose and poetry, even when, owing to the absence of his chief, Lord Lyons, he seemed to be completely absorbed by his official and social duties. This power of working in the midst of engrossing official occupations was still further illustrated last year, for though ambassador in Paris, and for a time overcome by illness, Lord Lytton, as lord rector of the University of Glasgow, delivered a masterly address on the duties of diplomacy, and he rewrote *The Ring of Amasis*, which has gained the applause even of the *Saturday Review*, and is now appearing in an admirable translation, worthy of the original, by Madame Flourens, in one of the illustrated Parisian periodicals.

How many fair maids and matrons have sighed to know Owen Meredith! And what wonder? He sings the secrets of the heart, yet leaves the half untold, and, as one possessed of rare knowledge and subtle power, betrays his strength in ways which prove but do not try it. Such things attract the sterner sex; why should they fail to move the female portion of humanity, which is not only numerically superior in these latter days, but is often in advance in other ways of its heavy brothers, fathers, husbands, lovers? How many copies, think you, of *Lucille*, in blue and gold, have traversed the globe in the cherished corners of the fair owners' portmanteaus, to say nothing of the poet's words which lie treasured in unnumbered brains and hearts in England and America?

Tennyson and Longfellow rolled into one have not traveled so far or found so wide a field of fame; and if you would reach the true test of poetry you cannot afford to ignore criticism of women, which from all time has passed its resistless sentence on what is worth and what is dross in the world of imagination. You may not like a poet's writings, but you cannot ignore their power when womankind has given them wings. We may be nearing the moment when seven women shall lay hold of one man; but we have certainly reached that period when one man has laid hold of several hundred thousand women. His ideas appeal to the judgment and to the imagination because of their purity and brilliancy,



M. JULES SIMON.

conveyed through a medium equally crystalline and vivid. This combination of depth and transparency is extremely agreeable; and it enables Lord Lytton not only to write the most entrancing poetry, but also the most vigorous or delicious prose, as occasion may require.

It was in 1873 that Lord Lytton remarked to me upon the unsatisfactory and slow manner in which English diplomatists were advanced; and he told me that he was so discouraged by long waiting that he had about made up his mind to resign and to devote himself entirely to literature. Yet at that moment, without his knowledge, the discriminating attention

of Lord Beaconsfield was fixed upon him. Lord Beaconsfield had the gift of carrying in his mind a list of personages suitable to fill certain great positions when occasion required. Within a year after my conversation with Lord Lytton the latter had been appointed minister to Lisbon ; had been offered and had declined the governorship of Madras ; and twelve months later was named viceroy and governor-general of India—the greatest post in the gift of any government. It must have satisfied even the glowing and poetic imagination of Owen Meredith when, on the 1st of January, 1877, surrounded by all the princes, chiefs, and nobles of India, he presided at the gorgeous ceremonial which marked on the plains of Delhi the proclamation of Queen Victoria as empress of India.

His viceroyalty is commemorated by the titles which he received at its close, namely, by that of Earl of Lytton, of Lytton in the county of Derby, the ancient seat of his house, and that of Viscount of Knebworth, of Knebworth in the county of Herts, where they have been for nearly five hundred years. There is a graceful association with the queen-empress, whose viceroy he was, in the name of his eldest son and heir—Victor, Viscount Knebworth—born at the government house, Simla, India, fourteen years ago. I have talked of the literary and poetic character of Lord Lytton principally ; but, as Lord Beaconsfield remarked to me about another statesman, Lord Lytton's is a multiform life. He is a thoroughly equipped and practical diplomatist, who in the course of his long career has done admirable service in that important department of statecraft. In the field of administration Lord Lytton had had little or no experience when he accepted, after having twice declined, the viceroyalty of India.

Now there are two opinions, as there are at least two parties, on Indian questions in England, and consequently there are two opinions as to whether Lord Lytton's policy was the correct one ; but certainly no one will deny that he applied himself successfully to the development of a policy which he carried out in all its details with unflagging energy. When the history of his rule in India is written there will be many to praise who now, from ignorance, blame him. In summing up his many-sided character no fair-minded man, who is removed from political or personal bias, can fail to find that Lord Lytton, to use a French phrase, is an international illustration, the ripe fruit of the genius of the century.

On some future occasion I may return to the roll of honorable Spartans, for it also includes other most interesting characters, such as Messieurs Cabanel, Paul Baudry, Madrazzo, Ganderax, Portalis ; Valfrey, the historian ; De Molinari, the distinguished political economist ; De Lescure, Albéric Second, the Prince Stirbey, De Hérédia; José Paz, whose handsome

face shows no trace of his dual labors as littérateur and minister; the Baronde Heeckeren, Count de Laferrière, the Marquis de Rougé; Octave Uzanne, the artistic author of many beautiful books, and the founder and president of the Bibliophiles Contemporains; Gaston Bérardi, whose attractive and genial personality is allied to remarkable administrative ability; and Count Ferdinand de Lesseps, who at eighty-six has discovered the fountain of youth, and sharing in the labors of the French Academy, also enlivens our Spartan dinners with his wit, humor, and experience.

And who has not heard of our Spartan brother, M. Henri Meilhac, the dramatic author, whose original genius secured for him a seat among the Immortals two years ago? He detests work, and yet accomplishes a vast amount. The motto which encircles his monogram is "Lente dies, cele-riter anni." He lives in that angle where a fountain throws up its spray in front of the Madeleine. Above him resides his friend and fellow-academician, M. Jules Simon, whose marvelous capacity has found its compensation in every department of intellectual effort. No man has done more to advance the best interests of his country, and his name is associated with every good work at the present time. His power of labor would be extraordinary in a man of half his years; yet at seventy-six he has all the enthusiasm of youth and all the wisdom of age. His genius illumines every subject it touches, and the solid qualities of his intellect are allied to an admirable quality of wit, which enlightened one of the most interesting of our Spartan dinners two years ago. His tenacious memory is stored with anecdotic reminiscence, which illustrates in an apt manner each turn of the conversation, and one is sure to carry away from his presence solid truth enveloped in the entrancing form of graphic narration.

Our dinner has proved what M. Guizot believed to be impossible—that a neutral ground may be found in France where men of different political opinions, laying them aside for the moment, may meet for agreeable interchange of views on all other subjects. Many years ago I said to that venerable and illustrious scholar: "But, M. Guizot, why do not we have in Paris a club, like the Athenæum Club in London, where men of the greatest intellectual mark, of all shades of political opinion, assemble?" He replied, "My dear young friend, with us it would be impossible, we have so many and such violent political dissensions."

PARIS, FRANCE.



COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE OF QUEEN ISABELLA

Apart from her connection with the discovery of America, there is no more interesting personage in all history than Queen Isabella of Spain. Born in 1451, she was only a sweet little girl in her fourth year at the time of the death of her royal father, John II. of Castile, who had ruled eight-and-forty years. Her brother, Henry IV., ascended the throne, and Isabella retired with her mother into seclusion. The future queen was reared in a small country town, far away from court influences, and was taught all the accomplishments of polite life, with daily lessons in practical piety and good morals. Her advantages were of a superior order considering the times in which she lived, and her education was much more complete than that of any other member of her family. When she was fifteen King Henry brought her to the palace for the specific purpose of disposing of her in marriage, lest some faction arise in her interests adverse to the future of his infant daughter, Princess Joanna. Of suitors there were many, for, irrespective of her nearness to the crown, Isabella was very bright and attractive.

But she had decided opinions of her own even then, and her arrogant brother was astonished to find he was not altogether master of the situation. Isabella was first betrothed to Carlos, the elder brother of Ferdinand, who died. Henry then promised her to Alfonso of Portugal; but neither threats nor entreaties could induce her to consent to such an unsuitable union, as Alfonso was very much older than herself. She coolly rested her refusal on the ground that "the infantas of Castile could not be disposed of in marriage without the consent of the nobles of the realm." Presently her brother thought in his selfish policy to marry her to the master of Calatrava, a man greatly her inferior in birth, and unworthy in every respect. She was indignant beyond expression, and imprisoned herself in her room without food or sleep for a day and a night, praying to heaven in the most piteous manner to save her from this terrible fate by her own death or that of her enemy. The suitor died on his journey to the palace, and then her brother provided new complications for her. Among others who sought her hand in marriage was a brother of Edward IV. of England, and a brother of Louis XI. of France.

But Isabella was partial to her kinsman, Ferdinand of Aragon, and finally determined to choose a husband for herself. She saw the advantages in a connection which would be the means of uniting the people of



QUEEN ISABELLA OF CASTILE.

Aragon and Castile, who were descendants of one common stock, speaking one language, and from their geographical position apparently destined by nature to become one nation. And she was captivated with the chivalrous youth who already displayed genius and judgment far beyond his years. Henry, fearing this, endeavored to revive the obsolete pretensions of Alfonso, King of Portugal, who was invited to renew his addresses to Isabella in a more public manner than hitherto. A pompous embassy with the Archbishop of Lisbon at its head appeared before Isabella, bearing proposals, which she again refused, in a gentle but decided manner. Her angry brother at once threatened her with imprisonment in the royal fortress at Madrid, but hesitated through fear of the people of Ocaña, where she resided, who loved Isabella, and commenced parading the streets with banners bearing the arms of Aragon, and singing satirical verses even to the very palace gates, contrasting Alfonso's years with the youthful graces of Ferdinand. The tyrannical action of the king, however, brought

events to a speedy issue. The Aragonese envoy had waited for an answer to Ferdinand's suit, and consulting with the leading nobles of her party, who approved her course, Isabella signified her acceptance. This reply was received with almost as much joy by the old King of Aragon, John II., as by his son, the bridegroom elect, and marriage articles were signed without any unnecessary delay.

Ferdinand was seventeen years of age, and Isabella was eighteen. Ferdinand was of athletic frame, one of the best horsemen in his court, excelled in field sports of every description, was of fine presence and courtly bearing, with bronzed features, a broad forehead, and a clear, cheerful, flashing eye. He had secured splendid health for himself through extreme temperance in his diet and the cultivation of habits of perpetual activity. Isabella was a little above the ordinary height, exceptionally graceful in figure, of delicately fair complexion, hair of bright chestnut color inclining to red, soft, blue, serenely intelligent eyes, and sedate and dignified manners. Her contemporaries pronounced her "exceedingly beautiful." She spoke the Castilian language with more than usual elegance, and had already acquired a taste for letters.

She took advantage of the temporary absence of her royal brother, who had gone to the south of Spain for the purpose of quelling an insurrection, to prepare for her wedding. Her movements were disclosed by some members of her household, and she was quickly surrounded by spies. Presently she learned that the coercive system was to be adopted, and that a large force was on the march to capture and imprison her. In this exigency she made known her situation to the Archbishop of Toledo, who collected a body of horse and conducted her in triumph to the friendly city of Valladolid, where she was welcomed by the citizens with a general burst of enthusiasm. In the meantime messengers were dispatched into Aragon to quicken Ferdinand's movements. His father was sorely distressed, as he was in the heat of a war against the insurgent Catalans, and could not spare the force necessary for protecting Ferdinand's entrance into Castile; and his treasury was empty. But when the conundrum was referred to the impatient prince and his council it was speedily solved. The journey through a hostile country was undertaken in disguise, with only half a dozen attendants dressed as merchants. To divert the attention of the enemy another party was sent by a different route with all the ostentation of a public embassy from the King of Aragon to Henry IV. The country through which Ferdinand journeyed was patrolled by squadrons of cavalry whose business was to intercept his progress; thus he moved forward chiefly in the night. When the party halted on the road

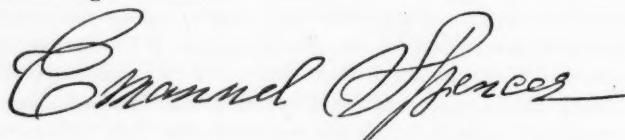
Ferdinand played the part of a servant, took care of the mules, and waited on his companions at the table. No disaster occurred worse than leaving at an inn—from which they departed with more haste than grace—the purse containing the funds for the expedition. On the second night of their travels they arrived late at a station garrisoned with soldiers. They knocked at the gate and were saluted with stones, one of which grazed Ferdinand's head and nearly brought his romantic enterprise to a tragic conclusion. But his voice was presently recognized and trumpets proclaimed the glad tidings, for the well-armed troops belonged to the Count of Trevino, one of Isabella's partisans, and were intended for an escort. He was received with an uproar of festivity, but before the dawn was again on the journey. His first interview with Isabella occupied two hours. On adjusting the preliminaries of the marriage both parties were poverty-stricken, so to speak, and obliged to borrow money to defray the expenses of the ceremony.

Isabella wrote to her brother, the king, immediately on the arrival of Ferdinand, and conscientiously informed him of the presence of the prince in his dominions and of her intended marriage. She represented in strong language the political advantages of the connection and the sanction it had received from the Castilian nobles, and asked him in the most dutiful manner for his approval. The marriage was publicly celebrated on the morning of the 19th of October, 1469, in the palace of John de Vivero, in the presence of Ferdinand's grandfather, the Admiral of Castile, of the Archbishop of Toledo, and a multitude of persons of rank. The ensuing week was devoted to festivities. Ferdinand and Isabella sent an embassy to Henry with the information that they were married, and asked his blessing. They accompanied their message with many assurances of loyalty and of submission to his rule. Henry was greatly disconcerted and replied coldly that he "must advise with his ministers."

Ferdinand and his bride established their residence at Dueñas, with a brilliant little court about them; but their supplies were cut off, and their means became so limited they could scarcely defray the ordinary expenses of their table. The most frightful anarchy prevailed throughout Castile at this juncture. Henry IV. was a weak ruler, under the control of unworthy favorites, and the frivolity which disgraced his court is a painful matter of history. He died suddenly, and five years after her romantic marriage Isabella was proclaimed queen, and her remarkable career as a ruler was inaugurated. But it was not until after a victorious war with Alfonso of Portugal, who had been affianced to Joanna, the daughter of Henry IV., that Isabella's authority was fully recognized. She was a woman of

great force of character, whose pride and ambition were unlimited, but who inspired confidence among her subjects. She was always present in meetings of the council, and insisted on the use of her name along with that of Ferdinand in all public documents. Ferdinand and Isabella revived the ancient but obsolete practice of presiding personally in the tribunals as often as once a week. "I well remember," wrote one of their courtiers, "to have seen the queen together with the catholic king, her husband, sitting in judgment in the alcazar of Madrid every Friday, dispensing justice to all, great and small, as came to demand it. This was indeed the golden age of justice; and since our sainted sovereign has been taken from us it has been more difficult and far more costly to transact business with a stripling of a secretary than it was with the queen and all her ministers."

Isabella exerted herself to reform the laws and internal administration of Spain, to encourage literature and the arts, and to modify the stern measures of Ferdinand by the influence of her own gentle and elevated character. The practical encouragement she gave to Columbus is the great act of her life by which she is best known; but through her energy and goodness she inspired in her people an attachment that led them to regard her with homage far more exalted than mere loyalty, and she acquired such control over them as no man could have done in any age. Many of her excellencies and peculiarities were transmitted to her grandson (the son of her daughter Joanna) Emperor Charles V., who on his arrival at the age of manhood was the mightiest, the wealthiest, and in many respects the most powerful prince in the world. Of the five children of Ferdinand and Isabella, the eldest daughter, Isabella, married Emanuel of Portugal; Juan died at the age of twenty; Joanna married Philip, Archduke of Austria, and was the mother of Emperor Charles V.; Maria, after the death of her sister, married Emanuel; and Catherine became the unhappy wife of Henry VIII. of England. "The Spaniards who revert to the glorious reign of Queen Isabella are so smitten with her moral perfections that, even in depicting her personal, they borrow somewhat of the exaggerated coloring of romance."

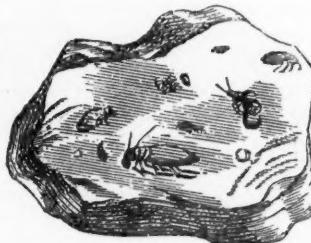


A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Emanuel Spences". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large, sweeping initial 'E'.

SOME INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT ELECTRICITY

Among the ancients a romantic tradition was handed along through the decades and generations, supposed to explain the origin of a certain mysterious substance, hard and brittle, but of a resinous lustre and exceedingly beautiful. The tradition was to the effect that when Phaethon was hurled by the lightning of Jove into the Eridanus, the tear-drops of his broken-hearted sisters were petrified as they fell into the sea, and the comely young women themselves were transformed by the pitying gods into poplar trees. These poetical tear-drops were significantly named from the Greek word for amber—which was one of the titles of the sun god—and the new material was believed by many of the philosophers of antiquity to be possessed of a soul. Perhaps, if those wise men could have foreseen the part it was to play in the conduct of human affairs during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they might have been strengthened in such faith.

The earliest mention in the *Odyssey* of list of jewels offered chants to the Queen necklace hung with afterwards called it because of its fabulously remarked, "The in it, however diminutive of a living, healthy refers to the insects imbedded in the solid but transparent substance, which hopelessly puzzled the sages of antiquity. What were bugs and spiders doing within women's petrified tears? Since that remote period over eight hundred different species of insects have been found preserved in amber, as well as some one hundred and sixty-three species of the leaves and other fragments of plants. Amber oftentimes incloses insects of species which no longer exist. It became one of the chief articles of commerce among the Greeks and Romans, and the sole object of many a voyage of the enterprising Phoenicians. The source of supply was the Baltic coasts, where it is still found. During the reign of Nero an expedition was sent from Rome to explore that amber-producing country.



AMBER WITH INCLOSED INSECTS.

tion of amber appears Homer. It is in the by Phoenician mer- of Syra—"the gold bits of amber." Pliny the gum-stone, and lous value sarcastic- price of a small figure tive, exceeds that slave." He evidently

Later on it was obtained sparingly in the north of Burma, on the Swedish and Danish coasts, in Greenland, in some parts of England, on the shores of Sicily and the Adriatic, and finally in America—at Martha's Vineyard, in New Jersey, and in Maryland.

Thales, one of the seven wise men of old, a statesman and natural philosopher, who flourished 600 B.C., discovered that amber when rubbed attracted light bodies toward it. This was the first exhibition of electric force that ever received intelligent notice, so far as known. Thales wrote about this discovery in the literature of his time. Theophrastus (321 B.C.) and Pliny (70 A.D.) passed the knowledge along, remarking on the power of amber to attract straws and dry leaves. There was some learning as to the electricity of the torpedo during Pliny's career, who says, "When touched by a spear it paralyzes the muscles and arrests the feet, however swift." And Aristotle states that "it possesses the power of benumbing men as well as the fishes that serve as its prey." The influence of electricity on the human body, and the electricity of the human body itself, were not even then wholly unknown. Anthero, a freedman of Tiberius, was cured of the gout by shocks of the torpedo. Wolinar, king of the Goths (415 A.D.), was able to emit sparks from his own body, and Eustathius, who records these phenomena, says that a certain philosopher "while dressing and undressing emitted occasionally sudden crackling sparks, while at other times flames blazed from him without burning his clothes." Several writers of the middle ages referred to these extraordinary discoveries, even speculated upon their prospective value, but the fact remains that for two thousand years after the first experiments with amber no progress of any importance was made in electrical enlightenment.

Dr. William Gilbert of Colchester, a learned physician (1540-1603) who, winning a great reputation for scientific acquirements attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth and was made her chief medical adviser, and who was subsequently pensioned by her to enable him to pursue his scientific researches, repeated the experiments of the ancients with amber, and was the foremost to apply them to the principles of philosophical investigation. He was really the founder of the science of electricity, which dates properly from the year 1600. Dr. Gilbert was the first to use the words "electric" and "electricity." He discovered many substances possessing the same magnetic properties as amber, such as glass, rock crystal, sulphur, sealing-wax, sapphire, opal, agate, etc., and he pronounced the earth one great magnet, stating also that terrestrial magnetism and electricity were but two allied emanations of a single force.

Otto Gericke (1602-1686) was the first scientist to observe repulsion

between electrified bodies, and about 1660 invented the initial electrical machine, which consisted of a globe of sulphur turned by a crank, like a grindstone, and rubbed by a cloth pressed against it by the hand. Robert Boyle, a contemporary in experiments (1627-1691), contributed many new facts to the germ of electrical knowledge. The illustrious Sir Isaac



*OTTO GERICKE Patricius et Reipubl. Magdeburgensis Consul,
gusdemq; ad Univers. Pas. Tract. Monasterij et Osnabrug. Logatus.
P. Saely sculps.*

Newton (1642-1727) constructed an electrical machine of glass, and added important observations, particularly during his presidency of the Royal Society from 1703 to 1727. Francis Hawksbee, a Fellow of the Royal Society during the same period, fashioned a machine in 1709 in which a glass cylinder rubbed by the dry hand replaced Gericke's sulphur globe; he was the first to notice and remark upon the similarity between the electric flash and lightning, and became one of the most brilliant experimental philosophers and inventors of his age. Stephen Grey, another

Fellow of the Royal Society, added numberless ingenious experiments, and was one of the earliest to transmit electricity from one point to another, and to distinguish bodies into conductors and non-conductors. Meanwhile M. Dufay of the Paris Academy of Sciences was engaged in the same class of investigations, and was the earliest to discover the two kinds of electricity and the law regulating their action.

Between the years 1733 and 1744 Germany was more or less agitated with the study of electricity, but without much show of progress. Professor Boze of Wittenberg finally distinguished himself by constructing a machine in which he employed a globe of glass, and furnished it with a prime conductor. Professor Winkler of Leipsic went a step farther and used a fixed cushion in the machine. Then came the Leyden discovery of 1745. Three men were experimenting in electricity, two of whom, Professors Muschenbroek and Allamand, were of the famous Leyden University, and Mr. Cunæus, an amateur in science and a great friend of the two professors. They were striving to devise some method to accumulate and retain electricity. For a prime conductor they used a small iron cannon suspended by silk threads. They could charge the cannon with electricity, but it would escape in a few seconds after they ceased to turn the handle of the machine. It occurred to Professor Muschenbroek that possibly an electrified body might be surrounded by a con-conducting substance, imprisoned, like Ariel, in an oak tree. Glass being a non-conductor and water a conductor, he partially filled a glass bottle with water and placed one end of the wire suspended from his cannon within it. For some time there were no results worth recording. But one day Mr. Cuneus accidentally touched the prime conductor with one hand while holding in the other the electrified bottle of water, and received the first electric shock ever given to mortal man by artificial means. He was overcome with amazement and terror. Muschenbroek immediately repeated the experiment with a small glass bowl. He said he felt struck in his arms, shoulders, and chest with such force that he lost his breath for some moments, and pain in his right arm became so intense that he was seriously alarmed. It was two days before he recovered from the effects of the blow, and he declared to his associates, "I would not take a second shock for the kingdom of France."

Professor Allamand was unwilling to pin his faith to the sensations of others as described by them, and hastened to take a shock of his own from a beer glass. He almost lost his breath for some minutes and experienced such acute pain that he could scarcely bear it. Professor Winkler hearing of this, at once came from Leipsic to try it on himself. His shock was

so violent that he was thrown into convulsions ; there was a strange heaviness in his head and he bled profusely from the nose. His wife, who was a close student in this and other scientific directions, was with him, and undismayed she tried two shocks upon herself, which almost deprived her



SEWING-MACHINE RUN BY ELECTRICITY.

"Whoever had predicted in 1745 that electricity would in 1891 be used in the household to run sewing-machines would have been esteemed a fit subject for incarceration as a dangerous lunatic." Page 188.

of the power to walk, and she remained in a limp and feeble condition for a week.

Thus the wonderful Leyden jar was invented. No scientific discovery ever created such a tumult in the world. It was the most important single contribution to electrical science since the properties of amber were originally discovered. Before the end of twelve months a great number of persons were traveling over the different countries of Europe, giving electric shocks for money. Thousands of people wanted to experience the novel sensation and were quite willing to pay for the privilege. Any one examining the current literature of 1746 and 1747 will find ample proofs of the universal interest suddenly awakened in electricity. It was not difficult to obtain the long electrical tube, which was rubbed with assiduity. In Spain Abbé Nollet gave electric shocks to whole regiments of guards at once. Sir William Watson of London soon completed the invention as we now have it, by coating the jar with tinfoil both within and without. He succeeded presently, in 1747, in firing gunpowder by the electric spark; and, mixing the gunpowder with a little camphor, he discharged a musket by the same agency. A coterie of scientists from the Royal Society, with the president at its head and Sir William Watson its chief operator, entered presently upon a series of magnificent experiments to determine the velocity of electricity. There were numberless steps to be taken, however, and a vast amount of weary work to be done, before this great power could be so far understood as to be brought under the control of the human intellect and safely harnessed for practical purposes. Whosoever had then predicted that electricity would in 1891 be used in the household to run sewing-machines would have been esteemed a fit subject for incarceration as a dangerous lunatic.*

The story of Professor Muschenbroek's "miraculous bottle," as it was called, was not long in crossing the Atlantic. Dr. Franklin was enchanted with it. He went to Boston and there found that Dr. Spence had brought with him from Scotland one of the electrical tubes, and he was present when Dr. Spence experimented with it before a large number of people. Dr. Franklin had already made thunder-storms a study, and had kept fully abreast with scientific knowledge and progress in the old world. It was not long after he returned to Philadelphia before one of the tubes was sent to him from London in a parcel of books which Peter Collinson had

* We are indebted to the courtesy of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, for the picture of the "Sewing-Machine run by Electricity;" also for the view of the "Hoosac Tunnel," the "Wires under the Switchboard," "Operating the Train Telegraph," "Search Light of a Ship of War," and the portrait of "Otto Gericke."



SEARCH LIGHT OF A SHIP OF WAR IN 1891.
Outgrowth of the lessons learned in preceding century.

shipped to the Philadelphia library. The tube was about two feet and a half long, and as thick as a man could conveniently grasp, and the directions stated that it was to be rubbed with a piece of cloth or buckskin, and held in contact with the object designed to be charged. As soon as it was unpacked Dr. Franklin began to use it. He was then forty-one years old, with his future career of usefulness yet to be unfolded. To him this tube was not merely a toy, as it was with many others, it was a continuous lesson. "I never was before engaged in any study that so totally engrossed my attention and my time as this," he wrote to a friend; "for what with making experiments when I am alone, and repeating them to my friends and acquaintances, who, from the novelty of the thing, come continually in crowds to see me, I have little leisure for anything else." He evolved his theory of plus and minus, or positive and negative electricity, during this first season of investigation, which is known in all technical works by the signs + and -. He presently was able to explain the mysteries of the Leyden jar so clearly and circumstantially that subsequent inquirers have added to it nothing of importance. The essentials of the theory of electricity as now taught in our schools and colleges were established by Franklin in 1747.

He then turned with enthusiasm to the critical study of thunder and

lightning. He wished to discover the part played in nature by this wonderful element. He was extremely patient in his observations of the electrical phenomena, and drew plausible inferences with surprising rapidity. The world might laugh, and he often joined in the merriment at his own expense. During the winter of 1748-1749 and all the next summer he was cautiously feeling his way to final conclusions on the subject, which he embodied in *Fifty-six Observations on the Phenomena of Thunder-gusts*. Nearly all that he afterwards demonstrated was foreshadowed in this remarkable production. The two suggestions which gave him his first celebrity were, "the power of points to draw electricity, and the similarity of electricity and lightning." He wrote numerous letters to the Royal Society in London, but his opinions and his conjectures concerning lightning were for a considerable period treated with indifference.

It was not until after the leisure of six winters had been diligently occupied in electrical experiments that Dr. Franklin's audacious exploit in drawing electric fire from a thunder-cloud immortalized his name. When Louis XV. of France heard of this celebrated experiment, performed in Philadelphia in 1752, he ordered that the various experiments described by Dr. Franklin should be performed in his presence. He also directed a letter to be written to the Royal Society of London, expressing his royal admiration of the wonderful ingenuity and learning of Dr. Franklin. France proved more quickly appreciative than England. The drawing of lightning from heaven, as a mere experiment, appealed not less to the ambition of men of learning than to the imagination of the ignorant; and the marvel was that the bold idea should have originated in a place so remote and so little known as Philadelphia. The Royal Society fully recognized the worth of Franklin's work in due time, and by a unanimous vote elected him a member of that distinguished body, which remitted in his case the usual initiation fee of five guineas as well as the regular annual dues of two and a half guineas. The following year it bestowed upon him the Copley medal, "with every honorable circumstance."

The century that elapsed between Franklin's triumphs and those of Professor Morse was one of great industry among the scientific experts of many countries, and valuable lives were spent in disappointing efforts to devise ways and means to utilize electricity. And yet the marvel was achieved. Henry Morton, the accomplished president of the Stevens Institute of Technology, writing of "Electricity in Lighting,"* speaks of

* *Electricity in Daily Life*. A popular account of the application of electricity to everyday uses. By Cyrus F. Brackett, Franklin Leonard Pope, Joseph Wetzel, Henry Morton, Charles

Franklin's often quoted and most suggestive answer to the question, "What is the use of electricity?" which was another question, "What is the use of a baby?" Professor Morton says: "Nothing has better illustrated the way in which scientific discoveries, like babies, can grow into usefulness than electricity in its various developments and applications,



THE HOOSAC TUNNEL LIGHTED WITH GLOW LAMPS.

"The successive steps which followed Franklin's capture of the lightning from the clouds, until Faraday made possible the present magnificent illuminators of land and sea, would fill an entire volume." Page 192.

among which, by no means the least, is electric lighting. Indeed, this scientific infant, whose birthplace may be said to have been Sir Humphry Davy's lecture-room in the Royal Society, has not only developed into vigorous youth and useful maturity, but has also produced an extensive family of descendants, wide-reaching and diverse in their character.

L. Buckingham, Herbert Laws Weed, W. S. Hughes, U. S. N., John Millis, U. S. A., A. E. Kennelly, M. Allen Starr, M.D. With one hundred and twenty-five illustrations. 8vo, pp. 288. Charles Scribner's Sons. New York.

istics. Sir Humphry Davy, in 1808, showed on a grand scale, with a galvanic battery of some two thousand pairs of plates, that when an electric circuit established between two pieces of charcoal was gradually interrupted by their separation, an arch or arc of dazzling light was developed between the separated pieces of carbon." Sir Humphry Davy was not born until 1778, and thus was but a mere boy when Franklin passed away, full of years and honors. Davy's discovery attracted immense attention, but the costly character of the apparatus by which the vital energy of the magnificent light could be supplied prevented its approach to anything like commercial success.

A dozen or more years rolled on. Another inventor then appeared on the stage and another great scientific discovery relieved the situation. Michael Faraday, after many experiments, succeeded in making a magnetic needle rotate around a wire carrying an electric current. This was in the year 1821. "The consequences of this discovery," writes Professor Pope, "which was nothing less than that of the possibility of converting the energy of an electric current into mechanical power, proved to be far-reaching and important. It was at once seized upon by the brilliant and fertile mind of the French academician Ampère, who, by a series of masterly analyses, showed that all the observed phenomena were referable to the mutual attractions and repulsions of parallel electric currents, and with his *confrère* Arago succeeded in permanently magnetizing a common sewing-needle by surrounding it with a helically coiled wire, through which an electric current was made to pass. These brilliant discoveries inaugurated an era of active research. Faraday, as we have seen, was successful in producing continuous mechanical motion. Barlow of Woolwich, elaborating Faraday's discovery, made in 1826 his electric spur-wheel, a most ingenious philosophical toy, and in point of fact the first organized electric motor. In 1826 Sturgeon devised the electro-magnet. In this country Professor Dana of Yale, in his lectures on natural philosophy, exhibited Sturgeon's electro-magnet. Among his listeners was Morse, in whose mind was thus early planted the germ which ultimately developed into the electric telegraph. Professor Joseph Henry, then a teacher in the Albany Academy, starting with the feeble electro-magnet of Sturgeon, reconstructed and improved it, and then by a series of brilliant original discoveries and experimental researches developed it into an instrumentality of enormous mechanical power."

The successive steps which followed Franklin's capture of the lightning from the clouds, until Faraday made possible the present magnificent illuminators of land and sea through his ingenious manipulation of the

little spark in his laboratory, would fill an entire volume if properly presented in detail. The subject has steadily advanced in public interest and importance, extending in unexpected directions and linking itself with departments of science with which it was not supposed to have any relation. Franklin subjected electricity to every test and every influence that the most fertile brain could suggest. He brought the lightning into his



OPERATING THE TRAIN TELEGRAPH.

"The idea of telegraphing to moving railway trains had its inception as early as 1853. But it is only quite recently that it has been found practicable." Page 199.

library for constant examination, and after a series of tests established the fact that "thunder-clouds are usually in a negative state of electricity; and that, consequently, it is the earth that strikes the clouds, not the clouds the earth." He invented the lightning-rod, but it was ten years before its use became general in the colonies, and twenty ere it was common in England. Experiments with lightning were in the highest degree dangerous as well as fascinating, and Franklin himself accidentally suffered several severe shocks. On one occasion he became insensible, and likened

the sensation to "a universal blow throughout the whole body from head to foot, within as well as without;" but he was averse to having "so notorious a blunder" made public, which he compared to that of an Irishman who, being about to steal gunpowder, made a hole in the cask with a red-hot poker. On the 16th of August, 1753, Professor Richman of St. Petersburg, while conducting experiments during a thunder-storm, on an insulated iron rod projecting from the roof of his house and carried down into the room where he worked, was killed by a sudden flash of electric fire which darted from the rod with a loud report. Accidents had by that time come to be regarded by the enthusiastic electricians very much as soldiers regard wounds received in battle, and even Dr. Priestley alluded to the eminent professor who lost his life in such an honorable way as "*the justly envied Richman.*"

Alessandro Volta was born in 1745, the same year as the Leyden jar, and in 1775 he invented the perpetual electrophore, and in 1782 the electric condenser. In the year 1800 he added to his work the invention of the famous "pile" that bears his name, and the "crown of cups." It is customary to speak now of any equivalent arrangement as a voltaic battery. The theory of Galvani was opposed to that of Volta, and in 1786 he made the discovery which led to the addition of a new branch to the science, that of galvanism. The solution of one problem opened the door for another in every instance, and sometimes for a whole group at once. The work of Professor Morse, beginning in a humble way in 1832, overtopped with improvements, has become a commercial industry reaching to the outskirts of civilization. Mr. Buckingham, writing on "The Telegraph of To-day," says: "When the attention of Professor Morse was first drawn to this subject, and even before he had so much as assumed the possibility of electrical communication, science had placed at his disposal the three essential elements—a metallic conductor for conveying the fluid between distant points, a galvanic battery affording an ample source of electricity, and an electro-magnet for translating electric currents into intelligible signals. Following the discovery of the voltaic pile in 1800, Davy before 1810 had employed the combined action of the thousand battery cells in experimenting with the electric light, and had developed currents stronger than would operate the longest telegraph circuit of the present day. In 1819 Oersted had observed that an electric current caused the deflection of the compass-needle, and in the year following Arago succeeded in magnetizing a steel needle by placing it across a wire conveying a current. Ampère immediately perceived the multiplied effect that would be obtained by coiling the wire around the needle, and in 1825

Sturgeon substituted for steel a core of soft iron. The electro-magnet, although crude in form, was then complete as an invention. In 1828, however, it was taken up by Professor Henry, and in his hands, before 1831, was advanced so far from a laboratory experiment that doubtless it could have been advantageously used as a telegraph receiver. That Henry

during this period placed the world in full possession of a knowledge of the character and properties of the electro-magnet cannot be doubted when we remember that he constructed a specimen, existing to-day, capable of attracting an armature to

its poles with a force of more than two thousand pounds; and in 1831 he went farther and employed an electro-magnet in an experimental telegraph, which, by vibrating a bell-hammer, audibly announced signals by the closing and breaking of the current. Whatever merit, therefore, there may be in the claim advocated for Professor Henry that he invented the telegraph before Morse, there is little

UNDER SIDE OF SWITCHBOARD, WESTERN UNION BUILDING.

"Morse lived to see the development of his undertaking reach proportions which in his most sanguine moments he never could have anticipated." Page 197.

room for doubt that he brought the electro-magnet to a stage of development fitting it to many uses for which it has since been discovered to be suited."



It was in the autumn of 1832 that Professor Morse, while on board the Havre packet *Sully*, returning to America, conceived the idea that in a gentle and steady current of the electric fluid a source existed of regular, continued, and rapid motions, which might be applied to a machine for conveying messages from place to place, and inscribing them on a tablet. He had been in conversation with some of the passengers concerning the relation between electricity and magnetism, and a recent experiment in Paris had been described where electricity had been instantaneously transmitted through a wire. He immediately began devising mechanical contrivances to give expression to his thought, and before the packet reached New York the essential features of the electro-magnetic transmitting and recording apparatus were sketched upon paper. He experimented in his rooms in the New York University, stretching a half-mile of wire around and about one of his apartments, and thus exhibited a miniature telegraph in actual operation—in one direction—in 1835. But his efforts attracted little notice from scientific men, and the public generally presumed his ingenious discovery would prove merely a pastime. The story of his long-battled efforts and final success is as remarkable as any in the annals of discovery. The lesson it teaches is as old as human genius and human ambition. Inflexible perseverance is essential to achievement. When he had completed the first crude telegraphic recording apparatus in the world, and exhibited it to a select assemblage, and demonstrated beyond dispute his ability to communicate between two points distant half a mile from each other, then he applied to congress for aid in constructing an experimental telegraph from Washington to Baltimore, but his project met with skepticism and ridicule. He sailed for Europe and tried the governments of the old world with similar results. He returned to America and renewed his appeal to congress year after year. Finally, on the last night of the session, in March, 1843, he left the Capitol at Washington, after waiting through the long, tiresome day, thoroughly disconsolate. His feelings may be imagined when he learned the next morning that in the hurry and confusion of the midnight hour the closing congress voted thirty thousand dollars for the construction of a telegraph between Washington and Baltimore!

The work commenced without delay, and was completed in May, 1844. At first the wires, inclosed in lead pipes, were buried in the earth, but before ten miles were accomplished the lead pipes were abandoned and the wires strung upon poles.

It cannot be said that the notion of the utility of electricity for imparting information originated in any one mind, but Professor Morse

improved upon the inventions of others to such a degree that out of sixty competitors he reached the most desirable result for public and private use. At a convention held in 1851, for the purpose of adopting a uniform system for all Germany, that of Morse was selected. It has superseded other systems in nearly every country of the world. In 1857 the representatives of the principal European powers, in assemblage at Paris, presented Morse four hundred thousand francs as a recompense for his invention.

Mr. Buckingham remarks: "Doubtless Morse derived valuable assistance from Henry and Vail, but the telegraph of to-day bears the marks of his genius in features from the smallest detail to things of indispensable importance. His success in adapting the telegraph to the ignorance of the age rightfully placed him beyond competition."

Morse lived to see the development of his undertaking reach proportions which in his most sanguine moments he never could have anticipated. Like the discovery of a continent by Columbus, he had given the world something to build upon. He was esteemed the most illustrious American of his age, and honors were lavished upon him by the monarchs of the old world, even to the order of glory, set in diamonds, from the Sultan of Turkey; and he was elected to membership in all the prominent European scientific and art academies. The telegraph companies of Great Britain gave him a public banquet in London in 1856, and two years later he was tendered a similar entertainment in Paris. As the years rolled on and the magnitude of the benefits his genius conferred upon the human race became more and more conspicuous, New York city, with a commendable show of appreciation, united with the telegraph fraternity of the United States (June 10, 1871) in one of the grandest tributes of respect and love ever accorded to a living man. A colossal statue erected in his honor was unveiled in his presence, the city through its mayor and the people of two states through their governors—the state of his birth and the state of his adoption—participating in the ceremonial, while a throng of not less than sixty thousand enthusiastic spectators witnessed the scene. Governor Hoffman said: "Thanks to Samuel F. B. Morse, men speak to one another now though separated by the width of the earth; and we intend, so far as in us lies, that the men who come after us shall be at no loss to discover his name for want of the recorded testimony of his contemporaries." William Cullen Bryant in addressing the vast assemblage said: "We come together on the occasion of raising a statue not to buried but to living merit, to a great discoverer who yet sits among us, a witness to the honors which are but the first fruits of that ample har-

vest which his memory will gather in the long season yet to come." The exercises of the day were gloriously concluded by a brilliant ovation in the evening at the Academy of Music, in presence of the largest and most intellectual audience ever crowded within the walls of that building. Enthusiasm reached its climax when the distinguished recipient of these honors attached his name to the telegram: "Professor Morse sends greetings to those of the telegraphic fraternity throughout the world. Glory to God in the highest, peace and good will to men!" A few moments later came responses from nearly all the cities of America, and from Canada, Havana, and other distant places.

Within a year, on the 2d of April, 1872, the whole civilized world was in mourning. By means of the telegraph, intelligence of the death of Morse was sent thrilling beneath the billows of the ocean, across the continents, eastward, westward, and was simultaneously received in London, Paris, Rome, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Syria, Egypt, China, Australia, and Japan. While all America sorrowed, eloquent words of mingled admiration and condolence flashed over the wires from four continents, even from the gray old land of the Pharaohs, and from Hong Kong. Never in the history of the new world had a simple citizen's memory met with such impressive respect. Funeral ceremonies, in which millions really participated, were conducted from the Madison Square Church, in New York city, by Rev. Dr. William Adams, pastor and personal friend of the deceased, and the pall-bearers were General John Adams Dix, the statesman; Cyrus W. Field, of Atlantic cable fame; Peter Cooper, the philanthropist; Cambridge Livingston, the veteran legal scholar; Charles Butler, the eminent lawyer and railroad projector; Daniel Huntington, the artist; William Orton, president of the Western Union telegraph, and Ezra Cornell—men whose names without exception are historic, and whose connection with schemes of healthful progress are well known.

It is idle to talk about what might have been if Morse had failed in 1844. Of course, there were other scientists who were diligently working in the same direction. We know, however, that many years elapsed, notwithstanding the genius employed, before steps were supplied to the broader field. Until 1852 no one appears to have conceived the possibility of a system by which two or more operators could simultaneously use a wire to transmit independent messages. Then Moses G. Farmer of Salem devised a synchronous-multiple telegraph, and in 1853 Dr. William Gintl of Austria invented a duplex system, which was improved, but not perfected, the following year, by Carl Frischen of Hanover. In 1872 Joseph B. Stearns of Boston furnished the important link by which

the duplex became a successful means of doubling the telegraphic capacity of the longest circuits. The idea of telegraphing to moving railway trains had its inception as early as 1853; but, like every other electrical problem, its solution was painfully slow. It is only quite recently that it has been found practicable. This novel system was subjected to an instructive test on the Lehigh Valley railroad during the memorable blizzard of March, 1888. The human mind can scarcely take in the subject in its full magnitude. Yet we are told that the modern telegraph doubtless seems to us even farther from perfection than did Morse's system appear to him when he had first succeeded in working from Washington to Baltimore. The advance since 1844 is best illustrated by the fact that "in the United States alone the Western Union Telegraph company, with its 600,000 miles of wire, transmits annually more than 50,000,000 messages." Another informing statement has been made by Mr. William Henry Smith in the August *Century* to the effect that "during the year ending June 30, 1890, the Western Union delivered, at all stations, 322,088,438 words of 'regular' or Associated Press report." And he also calls attention to the feature of the news service of which the public has little knowledge—that of telegraphing in case of storms: "During the blizzard of March, 1888, for instance, the Washington report was sent to Philadelphia by way of New Orleans, Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Pittsburgh; while New York city received it from Albany by the way of New Orleans, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo. A more extraordinary case is that of Boston, which received a condensed report from New York by way of London, it being sent by one cable from New York to London, and thence back by another cable which lands in New Hampshire."

The chapter in the excellent volume on *Electricity in Daily Life* which treats of the "Making and Laying of a Cable" is one of surpassing interest. In it we are told that the North Atlantic is crossed by no less than eleven cables, all laid since 1870. It is naturally very easy to overlook the magnitude of the work through which this has been achieved. The cable fleet of the world numbers thirty-seven vessels, and life on one of these is painted in vivid colors by Mr. Webb. The reader is given a description of the manufacture of the submarine cable of to-day; is shown how the ocean depths are surveyed with almost as much care as the land for a new railroad; also the landing of a shore end, and the deep-sea cable trailing steadily out into the blue water, and much else relating to electrical work that is very informing and intensely fascinating.

Thomas A. Edison was the first to construct an actual dynamo-electric

railway in America. This was accomplished in 1880, Henry Villard bearing the expenses of the work. Dr. Werner Siemens had, meanwhile, devised an electric railway in Germany, which had been shown at the industrial exhibition in Berlin the year before. The first electric street railway operated in America for actual commercial service was in 1885, a suburban line two miles long, from Baltimore to Hampden, Maryland. The beginning of the general introduction of electric lighting by incandescent lamps supplied from central stations dates from 1883. Mr. Kennelly pertinently says: "Among the greatest gifts that electricity has bestowed on domestic life is the incandescent electric light. There can be little doubt that when experience shall have given confidence in its trustworthiness, while time shall have rendered its many excellencies familiar, it will be adopted in all households. It neither consumes nor pollutes the air in which it shines. In the nursery it is particularly welcome, for it requires no matches, cannot set fire to anything, even if deliberately broken while lit, and effectually checks the youthful tendency to experiment with fire. In addition to this, its complete amenability to control, and submission to all changes of position or equilibrium, render it everywhere admirably adapted to the purposes of adornment. Some of the most charming effects can be produced by good taste in the choice of centres of illumination, together with appropriate surroundings. In the billiard room the table is brilliantly lit, without danger of soot or oil marring the baize, and on the veranda the lamps shine heedless of the wind."

The first application of electricity to household purposes was presented by the electric bell; annunciators of various kinds followed, and after many years the telephone, of which there are, we are told, four hundred thousand in the United States to-day. Mr. Kennelly adds, at the close of his excellent monograph on this theme, these words: "Considering, then, that the household is in itself a condensed history of a nation's past, the centre of its present, and the cradle of its future, it is doubtful whether, among the many triumphs of the age that electricity may claim, any can be quoted of brighter renown than the rapid progress it has already made in the cultivation of the arts of life, and its adaptation to the needs and graces of the household."

Martha J. Lamb

CALIFORNIA AS AN OUTPOST OF CIVILIZATION

CAREER OF WILLIAM TELL COLEMAN *

The story of California reads like a romance: first a primeval garden equal to any Eden, without the faintest echo from the past—dusky Adams and Eves, naked, stolid, a little above rather than below their companions, the grizzly bear and elk, in prowess, or the lion and panther in dexterity, or the coyote in cunning, with many flowers and a few thorns, with many birds and a few reptiles, and an air and sunshine breathing of heaven, as if just outlying the gates of glory; next appearing a race a trifle less dusky, possibly a trifle less stolid, with a foreign religion to sell for lands and personal service, and with enough of the diseases and infernal appliances of European civilization soon to exterminate the aborigines; finally came the Anglo-American.

And when the last and most remarkable of human migrations set in, a migration such as the world never before witnessed nor will ever witness again, a migration not of Spanish priests and adventurers for gold or glory, nor of Scotchmen for furs, nor of avaricious Englishmen for free Indian lands, but a moving westward of men and women of wealth and refinement, coming from the seats of the world's highest civilization, and bringing with them the world's highest intelligence, the world's foremost ideas in science and morals; coming hither with peace in their hearts and means in their pockets for those greatest boons of heaven—health and happy surroundings—when such a class, and for such a purpose, began to come, the most enthusiastic of Californians could scarcely realize it, could scarcely believe it true, that all the world with one accord should now be eager to champion California, to proclaim hers as the brightest skies, the purest air, and the most adaptable soil in all the world.

For centuries California had lain slumbering, lulled by the monotone of ocean. The first fitful dream of explorers in search of an ever-eluding strait, of cities stored with treasures, had subsided into pastoral scenes, with converts and settlers clustering round white-walled missions in the shadow of the cross. It was on the 24th of January, 1848, that Marshall discovered gold at Coloma. The fact once fully realized, a thrill passed through the world, and forthwith was started a migration of peculiar sig-

* Extracts from the biographical work of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Volume I. of new series, on "The Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth."

nificance. Thus came in 1849 alone a hundred thousand people, sufficient to lift California at a bound from an insignificant colony to an important state, with camps and towns, well-beaten roads and steam-furrowed rivers, and to place the Federal Union a half-century forward in commercial enterprise. San Francisco was raised from a hamlet to a bustling city, from a local town to the metropolis of the coast. Her position at the entrance to the great river system of the country, leading to the gold region, and her judicious adoption of a well-known name, guided to her wharves the inpouring fleets with their crowded passengers and cargoes. Thus was assured her future.

The thoughtful student of the history of material and intellectual development in California during the first century of her existence under civilizing influences cannot fail to observe that by far the most important episode was the popular uprising under the organization commonly called the committee of vigilance. And as the chief of that organization, William Tell Coleman was likewise chief among merchants, chief among those who loved order and good citizenship. He was born in Harrison county, Kentucky, February 29, 1824. His ancestors, who were English and Welsh, and well-conditioned, came to Virginia in the seventeenth and early in the eighteenth centuries. Napoleon Bonaparte Coleman, the father of William, was born in Mason county, Kentucky, July 11, 1799. He early studied law, was prominent in his profession, and became an active politician—an earnest Jacksonian. Mr. Coleman's mother was a woman of pronounced character, very handsome, tall, with a fine physique and noble presence. William was early put to school, and received his daily punishments rather stoically. He took the regular course, including Latin. Arriving at the age of seven years, he fell desperately in love with a little maid of eight who sat next to him in school. The episode became the talk of the school. One day it was reported that he was going to her father's house that night to bear home his bride. He had never seen a marriage, and thought all he had to do was to take the loved one to his home. Donning his best, he went to her father's house and told him he had come to get his wife. The father tried to coax him off with sweet-meats, but he would none of them. "I have come for my wife," he said. Again the father politely put him off. The beautiful girl was expecting him and ready to go. The courtship had been going on for some months. Patience exhausted at last, the boy crossed the street, and with brickbats broke the only plate glass ever known in that village, and for which he was severely punished. This effectually cured him; he never could speak to or look at her again.

There were few young men in the year 1848 with whom William T. Coleman would have wished to change places. With health and a fortune at his feet, a clear, well-balanced, and well-trained mind in a well-formed, active, athletic body, clear-cut and finely chiseled features, he was a good example of a well-bred, progressive American youth. The acquisition of California by the American government in 1846-47, the discovery of gold and the excitement in 1848, created the desire to reach California; and although then well situated and with fine prospects in St. Louis, Coleman determined the following winter to cross the continent, and in the early spring of 1849 organized a party, including his only and younger brother. . . . It was a day ever to be remembered when these bright and impressionable young men entered California, enwrapped in beauty and mystery. It was Sunday, the 14th of August. They had camped the previous night at a muddy spring some forty miles from Sacramento. The dried grass which would have filled their beasts with gladness if only they might have had it their masters passed by as unfit for food, and gave them instead the meagre remnant of oats packed from Missouri. They had seen scarcely any one since leaving the Mormon country, but here they found in the dust the imprint of a multitude of bare feet. Can it be, they thought, that California is a barren waste, as the infinite dryness here-about indicates, and that the poor pilgrims hither are brought to destitution? Presently they saw coming toward them a fine, dashing fellow, splendidly mounted. "Is this California," Mr. Coleman ventured to ask. "Yes," was the reply, "this is California." "How about the gold? Are the mines a success?" "I will show you," he said, as he drew from a leathern bag a handful of gold, in which beautiful specimens glittered beside the finer dust. "This I dug two miles from here. Take some." "My dear fellow," exclaimed Coleman, "is it not a little hazardous, exposing your wealth in this way?" The cavalier laughed. "Oh, no! people don't steal here now. They used to, but we strung a lot of 'em up over at old Dry Diggings—they call the place Hangtown now."

"After a day's rest," Mr. Coleman relates, "I visited the new city, and found it like an old-fashioned Methodist camp-meeting on a grand scale. There were long ranges of tents, with a number of indifferent buildings, and a few of more dignified appearance. The town was laid out regularly, and lots had been sold. I met a number of acquaintances from St. Louis, and before night was crammed with information as to the condition of the country. . . . When I first pitched my tents I had in my party two young men, carpenters, from St. Louis, whom I had known there slightly, and who were without money or any means of support. Failing to get

work, they begged me to put them at something. 'Well,' I said, 'I am no architect, but if you can handle the tools I think I can build a house.' I went to the St. Louis Exchange, or hotel then kept in Sacramento by Oliver Garrison, a brother of Commodore C. K. Garrison, and wrote out a placard: 'Wm. T. Coleman and Company, Contractors and Builders; anything from a dry-goods box to a block of buildings put up with neatness and dispatch. References: Oliver Garrison, St. Louis Exchange, and Mr. Gillespie, merchant, J street.' I then went to Gillespie's store and put up a similar notice there, calling his attention to it, and asking him to refer applicants to me. I heard next day that John Merrill of the schooner *Gazelle*, from New Bedford, lying in the river, wanted a small building put up, the lumber for which he had just landed. I called on Mr. Merrill—later J. C. Merrill and Company, California street, San Francisco—and made a bargain with him to put up his house for \$100. He pointed out the ground and I set my carpenters to work. By noon the next day the house was finished, and I gave the key to the owner, who handed me the money, which I divided among the men, my brother having assisted in the work. Encouraged by this beginning I pushed on and soon obtained further work of different kinds, among which was a building for the New Bedford company, of which Ephraim Leonard of San Francisco was the head. The contract price was \$600. It was tough work, as the lumber had come round the Horn on deck, and was thoroughly saturated with salt water. Then the structure had to be set upon logs, as Captain Sutter had informed us that the whole region was periodically overflowed from the river. Meanwhile I kept on at my new work, building fences, bridges, gold-rockers—anything which offered.

"The business increased until we had become the first manufacturers in the town. Yet I felt all the time that it was rather more of a makeshift than a legitimate business for me, as I knew not a fore-plane from a jack-plane, and was in no sense a carpenter, builder, or architect. One day I was at Stevens's store, where was prominently displayed a lot of Osgood's India cholagogue, a fever and ague remedy popular in the Mississippi valley at that time. I inquired the price. 'Eight dollars a bottle,' was the reply. 'How much if I take the lot?' 'Nothing less; it is cheap enough at that price.' 'Perhaps you would like to buy some at five or six dollars?' 'I will take all you can bring at five dollars a bottle,' Stevens testily replied. I closed the bargain with him, and told him I would deliver several gross within an hour. He fancied I was bantering, but I remembered to have seen some at the store of Leonard, Potter & Delano, and they were selling it at three dollars a bottle. I immediately

proceeded to the store, where I saw Mr. Potter, for whom I had built a house. I asked him how much of the cholagogue he had. He said three gross. I told him I would take the lot. He hesitated, and finally concluded that he could spare but two gross, which I might have at three dollars a bottle. I told him to turn it out immediately, as I had a customer for it. I looked about for a cart to take it down to Stevens's, and not being able to find one at once I borrowed a wheelbarrow, piled on the four boxes containing the two gross, and trudged off with them to the purchaser. Stevens was petrified at seeing such a stock of the commodity presented to him. I told him there it was. He wanted to look at it, and we opened a case. He then pretended that it was not genuine. I took a bottle of his and one of my own and compared them, and asked him where was the difference. 'Oh, every difference!' said Stevens. 'You evidently want to back out,' I said, 'but it will not do. You made a bargain, upon which I acted in good faith, and here are the goods, which I tender on the contract and demand the money. And sir,' I said, 'if you don't settle fairly and quickly, I will have the sheriff here in fifteen minutes; and, furthermore, I will burst the cholagogue market on you.' Stevens eyed me sharply, went to his neighbor McDowell in the round tent near by, who also had a supply, and on conference they agreed to divide it, take each a gross and sustain the market. They paid me five dollars a bottle, thus netting me five hundred and seventy-six dollars for an hour's work, and no money invested. This set me to thinking in a new direction—to weighing cholagogue against carpenter work—and I concluded that the mercantile business was more in my line than house-building."

In 1852 Mr. Coleman began business in New York, increasing his shipping business to such an extent that in 1856, after closing the work of the vigilance committee, he started a regular line of ships to San Francisco, the enterprise being attended with signal success. At this time California was considered an outpost of civilization and of commerce. Merchants there were regarded as adventurers, worthy of some credit perhaps, but not ranking at all in responsibility with those of the Atlantic seaboard, or even of the southern or western states. Means of communication with the west coast were limited. It was the part of prudence in the California merchant having large obligations to meet in the Atlantic states, to keep there a reserve fund as large as possible, to draw upon in case of an emergency. During the financial panic of 1857, however, the moneyed men of New York began to regard the San Francisco merchants at somewhat nearer their true value; the Pacific coast being less affected at such times than the Atlantic coast. All through this period of stringency Mr. Cole-

man had in bank at New York money sufficient to pay all his obligations, discounting many of them sixty or ninety days before they became due. Further than this, rates of discount being at one time very high—four or five per cent. a month—he bought some first-class paper of other houses as an investment. No man ever did more than Mr. Coleman to elevate the standard of California credits in New York. His course throughout this financial episode was not without premeditation and purpose. He saw here an opportunity to raise the credit of California to a higher plane than it had ever before enjoyed. In no other way could he better make her true strength understood, and he resolved that he would embrace every similar opportunity to increase her credit and exhibit her strength. Hence, in the panic of 1861 he further strengthened the reputation of California; and so in every subsequent disturbance, until the panic of 1873 brought California credit to the front rank. Prior to the admission of California into the Union in 1850 there was small semblance of law, and for some time thereafter, except at a few points where military discipline and Mexican power held sway, Californians were under little more legal restraint than the wild men of the wilderness. Impromptu measures involving popular tribunals and arbitrary justice filled the place of ancient formulas, and thus new lessons were learned in self-defense and safe association. Hence it was that with the advent of law, lawyers, and law courts, with all their paraphernalia for achieving and defeating the ends of justice, the people were somewhat impatient with meaningless formulas, and more than impatient over the employment of base instruments and the base ends too frequently accomplished. The primary significance of the vigilance movement was in the quick escape from the tyranny of law. To escape the tyranny of crime the law is invented; to escape the tyranny of the law fresh crimes must be committed. From the beginning crime in California had an individuality. Deadly weapons were worn as ornaments, and theft was more wicked than murder. In the race for wealth loss of life was expected; the sacredness of property was beyond question; if half the gold-seekers were killed there were enough of them left.

A pastoral innocence attended the gold-diggers of 1848. Crime came to the front the following year, increasing in 1850, until in 1851 hanging for stealing was in order. Hence arose the vigilance principle in San Francisco in 1851. The principal crimes which caused the popular uprising of 1851 were incendiarism, robbery, and murder; the people arose and executed the law which the court satellites refused or neglected to do. In 1856 it was entirely different. There were law courts enough, and law was strong, and the prisons were in fair condition. But the ministers of the law

were exceedingly corrupt. Murderers, thieves, and gamblers saw and seized the opportunity, seating themselves upon the judicial benches left exposed by preoccupied merchants, mechanics, and miners, unblushingly stuffing ballot-boxes to secure their re-election. Hence it was for the protection of outraged law and the purification of the courts that the people of San Francisco organized in 1856, rather than for the direct punishment of crime. The last uprising, that of 1877, grew out of a conflict between labor and capital, wherein low foreigners and kindred American spirits thought to kill or drive away the Chinese, who did too much work for money they received.

From about the first to the last William T. Coleman was prominent in all these movements. He saw at once, and never thereafter had reason to change his opinion, that not only was the material prosperity of the time and place in jeopardy, but the vital interests, social, political, and industrial, of the present and future generations were at stake. In the organization of the first San Francisco vigilance committee, in 1851, shortly after the Burdue-Stuart affair, Mr. Coleman took a quiet but determined position. While he would shirk no responsibility, he would not crowd himself forward. It was not power, prominence, nor personal consideration of any kind which actuated these social reformers. Hence the hanging of Jenkins, Stuart, and others was consummated while Mr. Coleman was serving his apprenticeship, I might say, in the organization and administration of enforced popular justice. As member of the executive committee of this first organization, he rendered the most efficient service, especially in the prevention of excesses on the part of hot-headed associates.

It is not until we come to the grand tribunal of 1856, however, that we are enabled fully to appreciate the man in all the fullness of his genius and self-devotion. Here we behold that consecration to a noble purpose which marks, first the patriot, and, if destiny should so determine, the martyr. In him was found in an eminent degree that happy union of qualities without which success would have been impossible. Patriotism and self-devotion, as I have said, first; then clear-sightedness, penetration, and rare executive ability, with a directness of aim and honesty of purpose seldom found outside of the mercantile profession. He made the extinction of crime and the regeneration of the courts a business, and lent to the accomplishment of these purposes the same powers which he would apply to the accomplishment of results in any other direction. It soon became evident to the better class of thinking people that in Mr. Coleman, more than in any other, were united the essential qualities of leadership in

the present emergency—courage and prudence, boldness and discretion, respect for the law, unswerving faith in the integrity of the American people and the American government properly administered, and an abhorrence equally of criminal rule and of mobocracy. This they again made known to him, insisting upon his taking his place at the front, which he finally consented to do, stipulating only on behalf of himself and his associates absolute secrecy and absolute obedience. "It is a serious business," he remarked to his friends. "It's no child's play. It may prove very serious. We may get through quickly, safely; we may so involve ourselves as never to get through."

A notable incident of the period, and one which tried the temper of the president and executive committee to the utmost, was the arrest and trial of Judge Terry of the Supreme Court for stabbing an officer of the vigilance committee while on duty. The governor, after having exhausted all his resources to exterminate the mob, as he called it, invoked federal aid, though to little purpose. Yet these impolitic and wholly unnecessary proceedings on the part of officials and their satellites tended all the more to complicate affairs, and render the dangers and difficulties of the reformers all the more arduous. The federal authorities at San Francisco bay were at first disposed to side with the committee, under the persuasion of Mr. Coleman. Later the pressure of the law-and-order politicians caused some of them to waver. The labor and responsibility of treating with General Wood and Captain Farragut were thrown entirely on Coleman, who described to them the movements, ambitions, and intentions of the vigilance committee. They first sent their aids to him, interviews being held at the old Oriental hotel; he also invited each one by turns to drive with him, so that he could speak to them entirely alone; this he continued until they came to a perfect understanding. Finally, after three months of active operations, the committee adjourned. There was a grand parade of the entire body, a review of the troops by the executive; then the fortress was dismantled and the military quarters abandoned, the predictions of the law-and-order party as to mobocratic reaction falling to the ground.

Again, in the labor agitation of 1877-78, Mr. Coleman was called upon by his fellow-citizens to render them important service by permitting himself to be placed at the head of a safety committee for the protection of life and property from threatened violence and destruction. The country was deeply agitated over the labor question. The great riots on the railways east, and especially the outbreak at Pittsburgh, which was the centre of the severest *émeute*, had extended to this coast. The spirit of disorder

flew across the continent and settled at San Francisco. On July 24 a circular was issued by Brigadier-General McComb, calling a meeting of merchants and property-owners that afternoon at two o'clock at the chamber of commerce. McComb called the meeting to order. It was well attended. Mr. Coleman was afterward called to the chair. He did not think great danger was imminent, but the moral effect of organization he fully appreciated.

Mr. Coleman has done much in different ways toward the material improvement of the state. As early as 1851-52 he bought, filled in at a great expense, and reclaimed the tide lots at the corner of California and Front streets, and built the large fire-proof warehouse which he long occupied. He was his own architect, selected the best material obtainable, and finished what was at the time the largest and confessedly the best warehouse on the Pacific coast, on which he could, at moderate rates then, obtain full fire insurance, which at the time was difficult to do on any building within the city. He did much other similar improvement, but his grander works were probably his enterprises in Marin county, where in 1871-72 he bought for cash some eight thousand acres of land, four thousand of which he laid in a solid body, reaching from the heart of San Rafael to the bay on the eastward. He there projected an extension and addition to the town, employed the best landscape engineers in the state, laid out Magnolia and other parks with broad avenues and streets and roads, about thirty-four miles in extent, and planted about 275,000 trees, 75,000 wine grapes, and built on the north side of Tamalpais mountain the Marin County Water Works, which supplies the entire country around. He took the leading part in building the Sonoma and Marin railroad from San Rafael to Petaluma, afterwards in building the hotel Rafael, and in other general improvements, thus creating one of the most beautiful and desirable suburbs on the coast.

A friend has written of him: "From early youth Cincinnatus was his model; a preference for home life, with a sense of duty, and fitness to take the field, fill the forum, or lead in council. Prompt to offer life and fortune for needs of the state, he was ready to retire as soon as duty would permit. Once having entered on a work he would see it finished, but when accomplished no temptation could induce him to remain, except absolute public necessities, the duties of which no one else present could satisfactorily perform. In great emergencies he thinks quickly, acts promptly, all his powers of body and mind rush to the front with force, the perceptions are acute, the will strong, temper calmly cool, and heart without fear." In physique Mr. Coleman presents a figure which would

be remarked in a senate chamber or in any gathering of cultivated men anywhere on earth. Of good stature, large, symmetrical in form, with a high, intellectual forehead, and eyes of illimitable depth and clearness, his presence is always imposing, and would indeed be felt as awe-inspiring were it not for the visible good-humor that radiates from every feature. He is a man; place him anywhere you will, and he fills the position. Yet with all his commanding presence he drops to the level of his associates, whoever or whatever they may be, with instinctive grace and dexterity. In him unite the dignity of sincerity with genial affability. He is essentially the most natural of men; there is nothing artificial about him, nor is there the slightest trace of affectation. Among the many positions of honor conferred upon him were the presidency of the California pioneers, the presidency of the chamber of commerce, and the presiding officer of numerous temporary organizations. He was three times nominated as regent of the state university, was requested to accept the major-generalship of the state, and often urged to serve as mayor, governor, and United States senator, but he declined them all.

Little remains to be said. The history of this life carries its own moral. Dull indeed must be the mind that cannot draw lessons from it. A noble youth, developing into noble manhood, bearing along and being borne by trains of events in which were involved the most important issues of mankind—the biography of such a man is a gospel from which all who study it may find food for the better part of their nature, and draw therefrom the essence of inspiration.

A cursive handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Hubert H. Bancroft".

SAN FRANCISCO

THE FIRST ENGLISH FOUNDATION

The English plantations made in North America in the early part of the sixteenth century—what were once fondly called “the first foundation”—can never lose their fascination for the student of American history. On the contrary, they will probably grow in interest; for, owing to the multiplication of historical scholars, the growth of the historical spirit, the throwing open of historical archives in Europe now closed, or the more thorough exploration of the contents of those already opened, and the putting of old facts in new lights, we are pretty sure to know more about them than we now know. Then the lengthening of the historical vista will add its peculiar interest and charm. Of the additions to our knowledge yet to be made, we have an earnest in the two massive volumes issued last year from the Riverside Press. To the new information these give us on two or three points this paper will call attention. But first it will be well to post the books to the time of their publication.

Columbus made his first discoveries in the autumn and winter of 1492, and returned to Spain in the spring of 1493. To strengthen their claim to the lands in the western waters growing out of his discovery, the Spanish monarchs resorted to Pope Alexander VI. for a concession or donation similar to those covering eastern lands that earlier pontiffs had made to Portugal in the days of Prince Henry. His Holiness responded to their wishes, and the series of documents known as the pope's bulls of donation and partition, and the capitulation of Tordesillas, entered into between Spain and Portugal in 1494 and ratified by the pope in 1506, in connection with the earlier bulls first referred to, had the effect to divide the heathen or infidel world already discovered or to be discovered between the two states *in perpetuo*. These three formidable powers—the pope, the king of Spain, and the king of Portugal—strove with might and main, until finally compelled to confess defeat, to maintain this division of the world, or, as the capitulation of Tordesillas called it, the partition of the ocean. But happily this arrangement never became a part of the public law of Europe and America. Little is left to either Spain or Portugal of what they at first secured. The line of demarcation between the new possessions of the two powers, be it noted, was drawn by the pope from pole to pole one hundred leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde islands, but it was finally drawn three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verdes.

Columbus's success stimulated the ambition of the maritime nations and the mariners of Western Europe. They were ready to follow up such a discovery. Desire to find a new road to the Indies and their wealth was the absorbing passion of the age; belief in the rotundity of the earth, so far from being peculiar to Columbus, was generally received by the best astronomers, geographers, and navigators of the time; and Europe was on the very verge of the great awakening of the sixteenth century. Years afterwards the younger Cabot said "the fame and report" of what Columbus had done, "whereof was great talke in all the court of Henry . . . increased in his heart a great flame of desire to do some notable thing." March 5, 1496, Henry VII. of England gave a commission to John Cabot, citizen of Venice, but a resident of Bristol, his three sons, and their heirs, full and free authority to sail under his banners and ensigns to countries and seas of the east, west, and north, to seek and discover isles, countries, regions, or provinces of the heathen and infidels whatsoever they might be, and in whatsoever part of the world, which before the date of the commission had been unknown to all Christians. Sailing under this commission, John Cabot discovered North America, June 24, 1497, more than a year before Columbus saw the sister continent, and about a month before the reputed discovery of Vespuccius. As he sails from Bristol on a second voyage in February, 1498, under a new commission granted by the king, the elder Cabot disappears forever from view. His second son, Sebastian, a youth of some twenty years, now appears in his stead, makes the voyage, and confirms and extends the discoveries of the previous year. How much of the coast of the continent he skirted is a matter of dispute; it seems safest to say from a high latitude to 36° N. Soon after this voyage Sebastian Cabot entered the service of the king of Spain, not to return to England for many years, facts that have a peculiar interest.

With the Cabots, English voyages to America which had opened so auspiciously practically came to an end. No attempts were made at colonization, and discovery was not farther prosecuted. When Sebastian Cabot made proposals in 1499 for a third western voyage he was supported neither by the king nor by the commercial interests. In 1501 and 1502 Henry VII. issued patents for discoveries in foreign lands, but so far as history shows they led to nothing. It seemed that the Cabots had dared and discovered in vain. After 1503 occasional intercourse with Newfoundland was established, but nothing more. Or, as Dr. J. G. Kohl sums it up: "It is a very curious circumstance that the country in which the Cabots started their idea for a navigation to the northwest, and in which they first proclaimed their discovery of the rich fishing-banks near

their New-found-Isles, did not at once profit by it so much as their neighbors, the French and the Portuguese, as we shall hereafter relate. During the first half of the sixteenth century we hear little of *English* fishing and commercial expeditions to the great banks, although they had a branch of commerce and fishery with Iceland. Perhaps, having the fish-market of this northern country at their disposal, for some time they did not seek *new* fishing-grounds. ‘It was not until the year 1548 that the English government passed the first act for the encouragement of the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, after which they became active competitors in this profitable occupation.’”

There is indeed a faint trace of a voyage to America made by Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, under the patronage of Henry VIII., in 1517, which “toke none effect” owing to Pert’s “faint heart.” It seems to be quite clear that two English ships, under the command of John Rut, in 1527, sailed over Sebastian Cabot’s track of thirty years before. And in 1556 Martin Hore, taking up the idea of the Cabots—that of reaching the east by keeping well to the north—made a voyage in two ships to the northern seas above Cape Breton. This is the last English voyage to America that we hear of until Sir John Hawkins who, in returning from the Gulf of Mexico in 1565, sailed along the coast from Florida to Labrador. But these voyages led to nothing, not even to a permanent enlargement of geographical knowledge. The reign of Queen Elizabeth is well advanced before we again hear of important expeditions.

But in the meantime not only the Spaniards but also the French and the Portuguese were actively engaged in exploration and discovery. Many a student has puzzled over the question that these facts suggest and that Dr. Kohl partly formulates. Why did England, that had entered upon western voyages so eagerly, and that had achieved such brilliant successes, so soon lose her interest, not only in new discoveries but also in what she had already discovered? Why was the conduct of England so different from that of Spain, and even that of France? This question deserves a fuller answer than it has yet received. The following considerations will at least throw much light upon the subject.

1. The voyages of 1497, 1498 were the undertakings of the Cabots rather than of the king or of England. The commissions of 1496, 1497 were granted on their petitions. Henry VII.’s well-known parsimony is strikingly illustrated by the terms that he made with the Venetians in 1496. They were authorized to make the voyage with “five ships of what burthen or quality soever they be, and as many mariners or men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper costs and

charges," the provident king reserving to himself "the rule, title and jurisdiction" of the towns and lands discovered and conquered, or "in wares or money the fifth part of the capital gaine so gotten," that is, of the profits over and above the necessary costs and charges. How a deaf ear was turned to Sebastian in 1497 has already been related.

2. Pregnant as the two voyages were with future results, they were at the time disappointing. The Cabots, like Columbus and all the rest, were in search of the *thesaurus Arabum et divitias Indie* when they braved the perils of the western deep in 1496, 1497. Asia was the vision that they all saw in the west. John Cabot supposed that he made his landfall in the country of the Grand Khan of Tartary. He returned to England believing that, starting from this place and coasting toward the equinoctial, he should find Cipango or Japan, and his second voyage was undertaken to test that hypothesis. Sebastian Cabot, in quest of a strait or passage-way that would lead him on to Cipango and Cathay, sailed along the coast of North America, if we may accept the conclusion of Humboldt, from 67° to 36° north latitude. But in vain. The Indies were not reached, the obstructing continent was not pierced, and the promised London warehouse for spices that should eclipse Alexandria was never stored or built. At the close of the fifteenth century there was slight interest in the New World as such, or rather none at all; men were angry that it stopped their voyages to the east, Columbus even dying with the protestation that he *had* done what he set out to do. It was long before the western nations appreciated that what they had found and not sought was far greater than what they had sought and not found. Spain began to colonize the West Indies immediately upon their discovery; but England did not take up the idea of western planting for almost one hundred years.

3. The intensity of the passion to find Asia, as well as the total disregard of America, are well shown by the turn that maritime ventures often took. The prevalent unwillingness to accept America as the western goal invented the strait of Anian, that long danced upon the maps of the western lands and waters; and to find this fabled strait, or something answering the same purpose, John Smith searched the Rappahannock, Henry Hudson the Hudson, and Cartier and La Salle the St. Lawrence. Sebastian Cabot originally suggested the idea that finally bore the name "the Northwest Passage"; he, and Pert and Hore after him, vainly strove to make it good. Later, when the first attempts to find the east in the northwest had failed, men, and particularly Englishmen, began to seek it in the northeast. In 1553 some English merchants formed a company to prosecute a route by the seas north of Europe, and this company sent out

the well-known Willoughby expedition, which failed to accomplish its destination, but did open trade with Muscovy through Archangel. Two years later the Muscovy Company was formed, with Sebastian Cabot, who had drawn Willoughby's instructions, as its president.

4. In respect to ability to found and protect colonies at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the disparity between Spain and England was very great. Spain was the greatest military and naval power in Europe; England but a third-rate state. Her population was small, her resources limited, and her seamen had not yet acquired that splendid audacity which they learned from Hawkins, Drake, Raleigh, and their compeers. Withal, there is evidence that following the voyages of 1497-98 there was a considerable decline in mercantile prosperity. In her condition for England to plant colonies in a distant and exposed situation would have been unwise if not fool-hardy.

5. An important part of the answer that we are seeking is found in the foreign relations of England at the time when America was discovered and Spanish colonization began. The aim of Henry VII. "was to keep England apart, independent of the two great continental powers which during the War of the Roses had made revolutions at their will." Such a policy was most prudent; England was but slowly recovering from the long turmoil of the civil war. The hard thing was to keep the peace with France without offending Spain, or with Spain without offending France. He dreaded trouble with either, but there were cogent reasons why Henry should seek the friendship and alliance of the Spanish monarchs. He shrank as long as he could from accepting the hand of the Spanish *infanta* Catherine for his son, Prince Arthur, which Ferdinand and Isabella steadily pressed upon him; but finally, in 1501, consented to the marriage. The death of the prince, which occurred within three months after the marriage, led at once to the proposal, coming as before from the Spanish court, that Prince Henry should wed his brother's widow. The pope finally consented, but Henry hesitated. "Though the king was cautious not to break openly with Spain by sending her home, he was resolute not to suffer a marriage which would bring a break with France and give Ferdinand an opportunity of dragging England into the strife between the two great powers of the west." But the great success of France in arms and in diplomacy, as well as his own passion, drove Henry VIII. into the arms of Catherine and of her father; he married the princess within two months of his accession to the throne in 1509. "The influence of the King of Aragon became all-powerful in the English council chamber. Catherine spoke of her husband and herself as Fer-

dinand's subjects. The gay king wrote that he would obey Ferdinand as he had obeyed his own father."* This state of things did not indeed last long. Henry, ambitious to cut a figure on the continental stage, plunged into war with France, in which he achieved nothing but the squandering of the treasure that his father had accumulated, and from which his crafty father-in-law left him to escape as best he could. Perhaps it is needless to point out that both the fear of offending Spain and the desire to cultivate her friendship would naturally make England wary of arousing Spanish jealousy in America. How easy it was to do this is a point upon which Mr. Brown has thrown new light.†

The internal condition of England for many years is another material consideration. Not long after his discomfiture in war came Henry VIII.'s break with the pope, the beginning of the reformation in England, the internal disquiet of the realm, the royal divorces and marriages—the whole culminating in the question of the succession to the throne that was never put finally to rest until the destruction of the Armada. And yet Henry's reign was by no means destitute of events bearing upon American history. Says Mr. Brown: "His contentions with the pope of Rome were instrumental in establishing the Church of England, in creating a disregard for the papal bulls relating to America, and finally in establishing English colonies in America." He also "laid the foundation of the English navy as a distinct service."

Having at sufficient length gone over this comparatively familiar ground, we turn now to ground that is less familiar.

Alexander VI. gave to Ferdinand and Isabella all mainlands and islands, hitherto found or yet to be found, westward and southward of a line drawn from pole to pole one hundred leagues west and south of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands. The capitulation of Tordesillas drew the demarkating line three hundred and seventy degrees west and south of the Cape Verde Islands. The words "west and south" were more significant than has sometimes been thought. They limited the concession

* The quotations are from Green: *The History of the English People*.

† *The Genesis of the United States*. A narrative of the movement in England, 1605-1616, which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen, disclosing the contest between England and Spain for the possession of the soil now occupied by the United States of America; set forth through a series of historical manuscripts now first printed, together with a reissue of rare contemporaneous facts, accompanied by biographical memoranda, notes, and brief biographies. Collected, arranged, and edited by Alexander Brown, Member of the Virginia Historical Society and of the American Historical Association, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of England. With one hundred portraits, maps, and plans. In two volumes. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

to the Spanish monarch on the north by the latitude of Spain or the Azores. This explains a number of facts that otherwise would be puzzling.

The Cabots were commissioned to sail to all ports, countries, and seas "of the east, of the west, and of the north," under Henry VII.'s banners; and it is not supposable that, at that day, considering facts already stated, the prudent monarch would have issued such a commission had it been the understanding that he would have offended Spain. Mr. Brown is even more specific: "John Cabot was sent to America, and charters for discovery and colonization were granted to him and his sons, and also to Richard Warde, Thomas Ashhurst, Hugh Eliot, Nicholas Thorne the elder, and others, but these charters, in order to be 'without prejudice to Spain and Portugal,' could not extend south of 44° north latitude, and thus England was confined in the New World to a region too cold and desolate to encourage settlement."* Here it may be added that Spain never took serious alarm at the English voyages so long as they were confined to the west, the north, and the east; it was only when England began to interest herself south of parallel 44° that the two powers were, on this subject, brought into conflict.

Edward VI. succeeded his father January 28, 1547. Decidedly anti-papal and anti-Spanish in his feelings, he recalled Cabot from Spain and chartered the "Mysterie and Companie of the Merchant adventurers for discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and Places unknown," significantly omitting the limitation "north, east, and west" of earlier charters.

Mary, who succeeded Edward July 6, 1553, at once set up again the Catholic Church. In 1554 she married Philip of Spain, and the following year the two "granted a second charter to the Merchant Adventurers, confining them to the north, northeast, northwestward of England, thus respecting the Spanish claims more fully than the Cabot grant of 1496."

The reign of Elizabeth saw a complete change in the spirit and action of the English nation. The queen was a Protestant, and events compelled her to assume the leadership of the Protestant movement, not only in England but also on the continent. Englishmen now began conspicuously to exhibit the splendid maritime qualities that in time gave them the empire of the seas. Of their kind, there is nothing in history finer than the exploits of the great English adventurers of those days. A complete change in opinion, feeling, and policy in respect to America was slowly

* Introductory Sketch. This is Mr. Brown's foot-note: "See letter of January 21, 1496, from Dr. de Puebla to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and their reply of March 28 following. I understand the papal bulls to divide between Spain and Portugal, by a north and south line, only the new discoveries 'west and south' of Spain."

but effectually accomplished. "America south of 44° north latitude was really conceded to Spain, and before Elizabeth ascended the throne of England the Spaniards had explored our coasts, east and west, and had traversed a large part of our present territory. But under Elizabeth the embryo took shape, and her reign must be closely studied as the direct introduction to our beginning."

England and Spain finally drifted into open war. The celebrated letters-patent to Sir Henry Gilbert—afterwards renewed to Sir Walter Raleigh—were issued in 1578, and the phrase "north, west, and east" disappeared forever, giving place to the familiar limitation in regard to Christian powers owning and possessing. In fact, the name America does not recur. English ministers now took a higher tone, as shown by this further extract: "In September, 1580, Drake returned to England from his voyage round the world, and the Spanish minister to England demanded that the treasure taken by him from Spaniards should be returned to Spain. The English government in their answer made this important declaration: 'That they could not acknowledge the Spanish right to all that country, either by donation by the pope or from their having touched here and there upon those coasts; built cottages, and given names to a few places; that this by the law of nations could not hinder other princes from freely navigating these seas and transporting colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit; that prescription without possession availed nothing.'" The plain English of this is that England was getting ready to dispute with Spain the region of North America south of the 44° line.

Occupation is an important feature of the right of discovery as recognized by the law of nations. As Phillimore says: "Indeed, writers on international law agree that use and settlement, or, in other words, *continuous use*, are indispensable elements of occupation properly so called. The mere erection of crosses, and marks, and inscriptions is ineffectual for acquiring or maintaining an exclusive title to country of which no real use is made." This principle was established mainly through the insistence of England. How natural it was for England to assert it, and how natural for Spain to repel it, words are not needed to point out. Probably the above reply made by Elizabeth's government to Spain is the first example of such assertion. If England was somewhat inconsistent in denying that the Dutch had acquired rights at the mouth of the Hudson, she suffered the region first seen by Cabot to fall into the hands of France, whose mariners first explored it and who duly proceeded to occupy it.

The facts now related become very significant when considered in

connection with what was going on along the southern Atlantic coast of the United States.

In 1512 Ponce de Leon discovered and named Florida, which, however, was not the name merely of the peninsula that now bears it, but of the whole land that Ponce de Leon had found. In 1520-21 a vessel sent out by Vasquez de Ayllon followed the coast to latitude $33^{\circ} 20'$ north. The commander took possession of the country in the name of the king of Spain, and, to mark the fact, cut crosses upon the trunks of the trees. A little later the king made a grant of the country to Ayllon, and directed him to explore the coast eight hundred leagues northward. In 1526 he sailed for the coast, having in his company six hundred persons, including priests and physicians. He made Chesapeake Bay and began the settlement of San Miguel where the English afterwards built Jamestown, but before the end of the year he died, and the expedition came to a disastrous end. Still other attempts were made upon the coast, as one at Port Royal. In 1570 Menendez, so famed in Florida history, sent Father Sigma with a company of Jesuits to the Potomac and the Rappahannock to establish a settlement and a mission. But, fortunately, failure still attended the Spanish efforts. All these facts show that a really strenuous attempt was made by Spain to occupy and hold the region of the Chesapeake. How necessary it was for her to possess Florida Dr. Shea shows in this significant paragraph: "Yet as a matter of policy it became necessary for Spain to occupy Florida. This the court felt; and when Cartier was preparing for his voyage to the northern part of the continent, Spanish spies followed his movements and reported all to their government. In Spain it was decided that Cartier's occupation of the frozen land, for which he was equipping his vessels, could not in any way militate against the interests of the Catholic monarch; but it was decided that any settlement attempted in Florida must on some pretext be crushed out. Florida from its position afforded a basis for assailing the fleets which bore from Vera Cruz the treasures of the Indies; and the hurricanes of the tropics had already strewn the Florida shore with the fragments of Spanish wrecks. In 1545 a vessel laden with silver and precious commodities perished on that coast, and two hundred persons reached land, only to fall by the Indians."

The king of Spain was no idle or disinterested spectator of the occupation of Virginia by the English. Documents here printed show that he watched with an eagle eye every movement looking westward that was made in London. It appears to have been a material part of the Spanish minister's business at the court of St. James to ferret out things of this

sort, and report them to his royal master. On this point several quotations may be made, a few of the many contained in *The Genesis*.

The Spanish papers from the archives of Simancas are a substantial addition to knowledge. "Many of them were originally written in cypher, in the greatest secrecy, nearly three hundred years ago, and relate to the foundation of our country. They are now made public for the first time; their historical value to us cannot be overestimated." Mr. Brown very naturally "hopes the public will receive them with an appreciation commensurate with their value." Only a few excerpts from these papers can be given. Don Pedro Zufiga, writing from London to the king of Spain, March 16, 1606, says: "They also propose to do another thing [the English] which is to send five or six hundred men, private individuals of this kingdom, to people Virginia in the Indies, close to Florida. They sent to that country some small numbers of men in years gone by, and having afterwards sent again, they found a part of them alive." A few months later the minister made a further report, long and exaggerated, saying: "The pretext which they assert is, that the king over here has given them permission and his patents to establish their religion in that country, provided that they rob no one, under the penalty, if they do not obey he will not take them under his protection." Later he called the scheme "villainy." March 8, 1607, the king wrote his minister: "You will report to me what the English are doing in the matter of Virginia; and if the plan progresses which they contemplated, of sending men there and ships; and thereupon it will be taken into consideration here what steps had best be taken to prevent it." In June, 1607, his majesty returns to the subject. He says Virginia is "the discovery and a part of the Indies, of Castille," and gives various reasons why the English should not be allowed to take possession, the most weighty of which is, "especially if they establish their errors and sects there (as it must be expected that they would if opportunity was given to them)." His majesty continues, commanding Zufiga to invoke the interposition of the English king: "It has appeared right to prevent these plans and purposes of the English by all available means; . . . and if it be so, that it ought to be decided at the very beginning. You are to speak to the king, expressing regret on my part that he should permit any of his subjects to try and disturb the seas, coasts, and lands of the Indies, and that by his agency they should be protected in their designs who have it in their hands. And you will report to me what he may reply to you, and whether it may appear to be likely that that king will reciprocate the kindly feeling which is here shown in all that concerns him; but if he should not do so, and if what is begun should continue to

be carried on, you will promptly report it to me, so that in some other way the necessary measures may be taken, as demanded by the importance of this affair. While I will consider myself well served by you, with all the vigilance which you are able to give this matter."

The minister did as he was directed, and it really appears that James I., on this occasion, employed to some advantage the statecraft upon which he so much prided himself. August 22, 1607, Zuñiga reports that one of the ships sent to Virginia has returned, and not "well pleased." He is doubtful whether "they will continue sending any people to that country," but says: "As the chief justice (Popham he meant) has died, I think this business will stop." It is impossible to follow this most interesting correspondence further. One document that defines the Spanish position will be quoted *in extenso*:

"Ciriza to Pedrastra. General Archives of Simancas, Department of State, Volume 2,571, Folio 202. Copy of an original letter of M. Juan de Ciriza to M. Andres de Pedrastra, dated Madrid, May 7, 1607.

By order of his majesty and a paper for the Lord Count de Lemos you sent to the Board of War for the Indies a part of a letter of Don Pedro de Zuñiga, Ambassador in England, which treats of certain plans which the English have formed to go to Virginia with two vessels every month, until they have landed there two thousand men, and of the charter and patents which the king has granted them to establish their religion in those parts, and all this having been examined and consulted about in the board, what was found out was, that this country, which they call Virginia, lies in 35°, above La Florida on the coast, in the direction of Newfoundland, and is contained within the limits of the crown of Castille, although it has not been discovered until now, nor is it known what its nature may be; and that from England it lies 74 degrees of longitude, which make 1,200 leagues, and from Spain there are a thousand; and according to this and to other considerations which were of special importance, it was thought proper that with all necessary forces this plan of the English should be prevented, and that it should not be permitted in any way that foreign nations should occupy this country, because it is, as has been said, a discovery and a part of the territory of the crown of Castille, and because its contiguity increases the vigilance which it is necessary to bestow upon all the Indies and their commerce; and this all the more so if they should establish there the religion and liberty of conscience which they profess, which of itself already is what most obliges us to defend it even beyond the reputation which is so grievously jeopardised; and that his majesty should command a letter to be written to Don Pedro de Zuñiga, ordering him to ascertain with great dexterity and skill how far these plans of which he writes may be founded in fact, and whether they make any progress, and who assists them, and by what means; and that when he is quite certain, he should try to give the King of England to understand that we complain of his permitting subjects of his to disturb the seas, coasts, and lands of his majesty; and of the rebels being favored by his agency, in their plans, the rebels of the islands and of other nations; and that he should continue to report always whatever he may hear, charging him to be careful in this matter, because of the importance of providing the necessary remedies, *in case he should not have any by those means.*

And his majesty having been consulted on this matter in the council held March 14th of this year, it was decided in reply that there should be taken down and prepared everything that seemed advisable, of which I am informed his majesty, so that orders should be given to write to the Ambassador in conformity with what his majesty has decided. Then your correspondence is with the Council of State, through which the writing must go to you, and the orders be given to you, that may be proper. May God preserve you, as I desire. From home, May 7th, 1607.

JUAN DE CIRIZA."

But nothing comes of all this watchfulness. Things had changed since the days of Ferdinand and Henry VIII. Spain had been materially weakened in her struggles with the Dutch and the English, while England had become formidable. His Catholic majesty could not help himself. Still, he did make some demonstrations of force in that direction. Says Mr. Bancroft, who could not have been acquainted with many of the documents that Mr. Brown has brought together : " When the court of Spain learned that the English were taking to themselves the land on the Chesapeake, it repeatedly threatened to send armed galleons to remove the planters. In the summer of 1611 a Spanish caravel with a shallop anchored near Point Comfort, and, obtaining a pilot from the fort, took soundings of the channels. Yet no use was made of the knowledge thus acquired ; the plantation was reported to be in such extremities that it could not but fall of itself."

Readers familiar with the American Revolution, Louisiana purchase, the Florida trouble, and the establishment of the boundary between the United States and Spain are familiar with the more than morbid sensitiveness of Spain to any movement or proposition affecting our American territories. It is plain, however, that this feeling long antedated 1780. Conde de Lemos told Sir Charles Cornwallis in 1607 " that the Spaniards looked to their Indies with no less watchful eyes than the government of their own wives."

The question occurs, why did not Spain take more vigorous measures to prevent Virginia slipping from her grasp ? She was hardly in a position to do so. Things had changed in a century very materially. Then the feebleness of Virginia was for a time a bulwark. Zuñiga thought the later voyages would end as the earlier ones had done ; and Mr. Bancroft tells us that the Spanish commander sent to the capes did not destroy Jamestown, because he thought disease and want could do it more cheaply.

It is an oft-quoted saying of Edward Burke's : " We derive our rights in America from the discovery of Sebastian (John) Cabot, who first made the northern continent in 1497. The fact is sufficiently certain to establish the right of our settlement in North America." It is by no means certain that John Cabot caught even a glimpse of the portion of the continent

that fell to England on its first partition ; he made his landfall within the limits that fell to France, while the first English plantations were made in the more southwest region that Spain claimed and that England conceded to her until, owing to a variety of causes, she got ready to insist upon the principle of use and settlement. Virginia, Spain claimed and attempted to occupy ; while the southern extension of the English colonies—the Carolinas and Georgia—was wholly made in the original Spanish dominion. The charter under which Georgia was colonized assigned as one reason for founding it the putting of a new colony between Carolina and the Spaniards ; and a clear and distinct boundary between the English and Spanish colonies was never established down to 1763, when Spain surrendered Florida to England, just as the northern English boundary question was first definitely settled by the cession to England of the French possessions. Ancient Florida was of vast extent. Nearly the whole of the United States was carved out of it, and the old Spanish maps are still extant on which its boundaries are carried beyond the latitude of Quebec.

Another subject upon which these volumes throw new light is the relation of the English people to the first foundation. It is well known that the government as such did far less for the English colonies than the Spanish and the French government for the Spanish and French colonies. It left everything, in fact, to individual initiative. Then the feebleness of the colonies in the first period—the fewness of the colonists and the slenderness of their resources—might give the impression that the nation took very little interest in them. We must be careful not to carry back three hundred years our present ideas and standards, or underrate the significance of the admitted facts of history. This paragraph from Mr. Brown's preface puts the facts in a strong light :

"Although many took little or no interest in the matter, and some were critics, opponents, and enemies of the enterprise from the first, still the movement was really a national one. I am very sure that a majority of the House of Lords and House of Commons were interested. The government was represented by the king, the royal family, and many great officials ; the church by some of her most noted divines ; the trades by the city companies of London and by some of the greatest merchants of England ; the army, the navy, and the learned professions by an assemblage of peculiarly illustrious names. England had the earnest support of the Protestants of the United Netherlands ; and 'the eyes of all Europe were looking upon their endeavors to spread the Gospel among the heathen people of Virginia, to plant an English nation there, and to settle in those parts' (p. 463). It was regarded 'as an action concerning God, and the advancement of religion, the present ease, future honor and safety of the kingdom, the strength of the navy, the visible hope of a great and rich trade, and many secret blessings not yet discovered' (p. 253). It was under the management of some of the greatest men in English history ;

they selected one of the strongest natural positions for their purpose on our Atlantic coast; they took fast hold there; they prayed 'unto that mercifull and tender God, who is both easie and glad to be intreated, that it would please him to blesse and water these feble beginnings, and that as he is wonderfull in all his works, so to nourish this graine of seed, that it may spread untill all people of the earth admire the greatnesse and seeke the shades and fruite thereof' (p. 352); and it pleased God to answer their prayer. 'All people of the earth admire our greatness'; and yet, as I have said, our knowledge of these men and of their work has been derived almost entirely from the evidence of their opponents. I have tried to correct this great national and historical wrong. Necessarily very much is still wanting in the historical portion of my work; but I believe the true character of our founders is sufficiently shown in the biography (which thus throws much of the needed additional light on the history), and I think that a correct idea of our first foundation 'which was *de nihilo ad quid*,' will be arrived at, if the reader will take the pains to consider the whole work from the preface to finis, before forming a fixed opinion."

And the documentary evidence that Mr. Brown presents shows that this summing is not exaggerated. The first foundation took a strong hold of the national imagination, as witness the scenes transcribed from the popular comedy "Eastward Ho," produced by Chapman, Jonson, and Marston in 1605. This speech of Seagull shows that the English mind still saw the New World robed in the colors of the Orient: "*Seagull*. I tell thee, golde is more plentiful there than copper is with us; and for as much red copper as I can bring Ile have thrise the waight in gold. Why, man, all their dripping-pans and their chamber-potts are pure gould; and all the chaines with which they chaime up their streets are massie gold; all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds they goe forth on holydayes and gather 'hem by the sea-shore to hang on their children's coates, and sticke in their children's caps, as commonly as our children weare saffron-gilt-brooches and groates with hoales in 'hem.'

Another subject upon which Mr. Brown insists with much emphasis is that the English plantations were an anti-papal as well as an anti-Spanish movement. These paragraphs, quoted from the preface, are well borne out by the mass of evidence found in the two volumes: "Much has been written in advocacy of several particular founders, and it is true that some were much more active than others; but the first foothold on America was not secured through the instrumentality of any single Englishman. The plantation of this country by English Protestants was a result of the Reformation. The Spaniards were the first to establish colonies in America. Their sovereign aimed not only at the restoration of the Catholic empire in Europe, but also at the creation of a new Catholic empire in America, which was held (and could only be held) as the exclusive property of the Spanish crown under the bulls of the popes of Rome.

For forty years the New World had been an important factor in the great struggle then waging between Protestantism and Romanism. The idea that the dangerous and increasing power of Spain and Rome in America should be checked had been growing in England ever since the arrival there in 1565 of the Huguenots who escaped massacre by the Spaniards in Florida; it had produced several enterprises of a private character; but in 1605 it took a national turn, and very many Englishmen were determined to consummate the idea by securing for their country and for their religion 'a lot or portion in the New World,' regardless of the claims of Spain and the bulls of the popes. They were convinced that the establishment of English colonies in North America would not only put 'a byt into their ainchten enymyes' mouth,' but also advance the commonwealth, the commerce, and the church of England or English Protestantism."

No doubt the English colonies were a Protestant undertaking in part. At the same time, this end was not always avowed. Hostility to Spain, however, involved in the most concrete of forms hostility to Rome. Richard Hackluyt wrote his *Discourse of Western Planting* in 1584 at the request and direction of Sir Walter Raleigh, mainly to enlist Queen Elizabeth and her ministers in western planting. Only two years before, Hackluyt, who was thoroughly alive to the great practical importance of the subject, wrote in "The Epistle Dedicatore" to his *Divers Voyages*; "I marvaile not a little, that since the first discoverie of America, which is nowe full fourscore and tenne years, after so great conquests and plantings of the Spaniards and Portingales there, that wee of England could neuer have the grace to set fast footing in such fertill and temperate places as are left us yet vnpossessed of them." The question that has bothered living students of history, it will be seen, also caused Hackluyt to marvel. The *Discourse of Western Planting* is a summary, in twenty-one "chapters," of the reasons for immediate action, as in the mind of the geographer and ecclesiastic who wrote it. In the headings of the "chapters" Hackluyt does not state the Protestant argument, but the book is full of anti-Catholic as well as anti-Spanish bias. A few of the headings may be quoted as examples of the arguments that Hackluyt thought would move her majesty to immediate action.

"I.—That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for the inlargemente of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the princes of the refourmed relligion are chefely bounde, amongst whome her Majestie ys principall.

II.—That all other Englishe trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially in all the Kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookees into the sea, and to for-

sweare and renounce their relligion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Majestie.

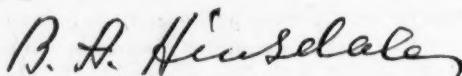
V. That this voyadge will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every yere, one or two hundred saile of his shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde lande.

VIII.—That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the West Indies be nothinge so large as ys generally ymagined and surmised, neither those parts which he holdeth be of any suche forces as ys falsly geven oute by the popishe clergye and others his fautors, to terrifie the princes of the relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

XVIII.—That the Queene of Englands title to all the West Indies, or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the circle articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes, or any other Christian Princes."

The question occurs to the reader, whether Mr. Brown's view of the northern limit of the three hundred and seventy league line does not help to explain the Cortereal voyages made just at the close of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth. Those voyages involve the question, why did the king of Portugal, after agreeing to the partition line of 1494, send the Cortereals to the North American coast? There was a long and fierce dispute between Portugal and Spain as to where the three hundred and seventy league line fell, Portugal being desirous of pushing it as far west as possible. On Portuguese maps of the period it is so drawn as to leave Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland on the eastern or Portuguese side. But in those latitudes the Portuguese both explored and claimed lands to the west of the line, even as they drew it. Can the explanation of this fact be that they understood the line to extend only to parallel 44° north? It may have been so; the hypothesis well explains the facts of history; but certain evidence that such is the explanation is not at hand. It is common to say that the king of Portugal was dissatisfied with the treaty of partition, and not disposed to be regardful of its main provision. However, it must be remembered that we have little positive knowledge of the Cortereal voyages.*

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN.



*The Rev. Dr. Patterson, in his late learned monograph, "The Portuguese on the Northeast Coast of North America," published in the *Magazine of American History* for May, 1891, does not suggest this explanation.

A QUEEN'S UNDYING LOVE

Joanna, daughter of the noble queen
Whom all Castilians worshiped, whose white hand
Sent out Columbus on his glorious quest,
Had married Philip of the Austrian court,
Gay, brilliant, handsome, with no heart of love
For her who reigned beside him.

Like a child,
Who, in its helpless fondness, clings and loves
Even the hand that strikes it, so the queen
Knelt to her idol ; sought by voice and eye
To know his every wish ; thought night and day
Upon her hopeless love, and loved the more.
When Philip journeyed into other lands,
And welcomed beauty from a thousand eyes,
Joanna's face grew pale with agony,
And never brightened till she followed him,
And stood beside her faithless, recreant king.
Broken in heart, for her suffering child,
Queen Isabella died, and Ferdinand
Wept, with the world, for her who well deserved
The homage of her race.

Then Philip, glad,
In youthful pride, sat on Castilian throne,
Sad-faced Joanna silent at his feet.
In three short years the tragedy was closed :
Philip, at twenty-eight, lay white in death.
Joanna thought not of her crown or child ;
Like a fond mother whose intensest love
Centres in one who passes from her sight
Unmindful of her prayers and bitter tears,
So the young queen cared only for the lost.
Like one benumbed she gazed upon his face ;
Shed not a tear while coffin-lid was closed,
And he, the only precious thing on earth,
Was borne away forever. Ah ! not so ;

For she had read how once a famous king
Had come to life through love's all-potent charm ;
And Philip should come back, and death give way
Before her homage.

To her queenly bed
She brought the buried king, so pale and cold.
Should not love warm him, make his heart's blood flow ?
Should not her eyes, by some unconscious power,
Unclose the eyelids she had often kissed ?
With jealous care she bent above her dead,
Allowing none to touch the hallowed form.
Days passed, and weeks, but Philip answered not.
A little child was born beside the dead ;
His baby Catharine, but he did not see.
Joanna waited, with a dumb, white face,
Till, finally, as a lamb in wind and sleet,
Lost from the flock, lies down to wait the end—
So, covering her dead from mortal view,
She sadly waited till her life should close.
Years came and went, till half a century
Had made the girlish queen gray-haired and old ;
The precious coffin never left her side :
The dead was Philip still, her best beloved.
With her great son, the Emperor Charles the Fifth,
She ruled the Spaniards, loyal to their queen.
They pitied, while they loved and reverenced,
The wife and yet the sovereign ; proud at heart
That Spain could show a woman's deathless love.

Sarah K. Bolton.

CLEVELAND, OHIO

SOCIAL LIFE AMONG THE ESKIMO

The people who inhabit almost the whole extent of the coast of Arctic America subsist upon animal food. Dr. Franz Boas, who journeyed among them and reported his observations to the Bureau of Ethnology, says: "As soon as the ice has consolidated in winter a lively intercourse springs up between the settlements. Friends visit one another, trading excursions are undertaken, and almost every few days visitors arrive at the village. They are welcomed with great hospitality. The sledge is unloaded and the dogs are fed by the host. The visitor is led into the hut, served with the choicest pieces of meat, and the hostess puts his clothing in order. In the winter these visits are generally short, rarely lasting more than a few days.

"Longer journeys are postponed until spring, when food can be procured more easily. Such journeys are planned a long time before they are made. While the families generally leave what they can spare of their household goods in winter at their summer settlement, they bring away everything they possess to the winter village if they intend to visit a neighboring tribe in the spring. In April or May they leave their snow houses; the tent poles and the whole of their goods are loaded upon the sledge, only the boats being left behind in charge of some friend, and then they start upon their long, lonely journey. On the first day they do not travel far, but make the first halt about twelve miles distant. As the load is heavy, the men and women sit on the top of the sledges only to rest. The driver walks alongside and the women lead the way, the dogs pulling more willingly if they see somebody ahead of the sledge. At night it is not unloaded, only those things taken out which are necessary for building a small tent and for cooking. After having traveled about three days a longer halt is made; the sledge is unloaded, the dogs are unharnessed, and the men go out hunting in order to procure food for the dogs and for themselves. Thus they slowly proceed until they at last reach the end of their journey. Here they settle down with their friends whom they have come to visit, establish a hut of their own, and spend a whole year with them. In the following spring they retrace their journey to their own homes. A journey of two hundred miles, going and coming, is sometimes accomplished in one season. While on the visit the visitors help their friends to provide for their families.

"The social life in the summer settlements is rather different from that

in winter. At this season the families do not cook their own meals, but a single one provides for the whole settlement. The day before it is her turn to cook, the woman goes to the hills to fetch shrubs for the fire. Three stones are put up near the hut as a fire-place, the opening facing the wind. The kettle is placed on the top of it, and the fire is fed with shrubs and blubber. When the meal is ready the master of the house stands beside it, crying 'Njo! Njo!' (boiled meat), and everybody comes out of the hut provided with a knife. The dish is carried to a level place, and the men sit down around it in one circle while the women form another. Then large lumps of meat are passed around, everybody cutting off a piece and taking a swallow of the soup, which is passed in a large leather cup. These dinners, which are held in the evening after the return from the hunt, are almost always enlivened by a mimic performance. Some one sits in the centre of the circle and amuses the assembly by singing and dancing or by making faces. A favorite performance is one in which a man with blackened face and with a thong tied around his head writhes and makes odd grimaces. After dinner the men sit chatting or gambling before the huts, while the women and children amuse themselves by running about, playing at ball, or dancing.

"Young children play with toy sledges, kayaks, boats, bows and arrows, and dolls. The dolls have a wooden body clothed with scraps of deer-skin cut in the same way as the clothing of the men. Both children and grown-up people exercise by sitting down on their knees in a large circle and simultaneously jumping up and down, by kneeling and holding their toes in their hands and trying to outdo one another in running in this position. A favorite amusement during the long winter nights is telling tales and composing songs. Old traditions are always related in a highly ceremonious manner. The narrator takes off his outer jacket, pulls the hood over his head, and sits down in the rear part of the hut, turning his face toward the wall, and then tells the story slowly and solemnly. All their stories are related in a very abridged form, the substance supposed to be known. The form is always the same, and should the narrator happen to say one word otherwise than is customary he will be corrected by the listeners. Children tell one another fables and sing short songs. Comic songs making fun of persons are great favorites.

"The women have quaint styles of dressing the hair. They always part it on the top of the head. The back hair is wound into a bunch protruding from the back of the head or nicely arranged in a knot; and at the sides it is plaited and folded over the ears, joining the knot behind. Sometimes it is arranged in small pig-tails reaching a little below the ears."

MINOR TOPICS

GENERAL GRANT ON PRESIDENT LINCOLN

Just after receiving my commission as lieutenant-general the President called me aside to speak to me privately. After a brief reference to the military situation he said he thought he could illustrate what he wanted to say by a story, which he related as follows : "At one time there was a great war among the animals, and one side had great difficulty in getting a commander who had sufficient confidence in himself. Finally they found a monkey, by the name of Jocko, who said he thought he could command their army if his tail could be made a little longer. So they got more tail and spliced it on to his caudal appendage. He looked at it admiringly, and then thought he ought to have a little more still. This was added, and again he called for more. The splicing process was repeated many times, until they had coiled Jocko's tail around the room, filling all the space. Still he called for more tail, and, there being no other place to coil it, they began wrapping it around his shoulders. He continued his calls for more, and they kept on winding the additional tail about him until its weight broke him down."

I saw the point, and, rising from my chair, replied : "Mr. President, I will not call for more assistance unless I find it impossible to do with what I already have."

On another occasion, when the President was at my headquarters at City Point, I took him to see the work that had been done on the Dutch Gap Canal. After taking him around, showing him all the points of interest, explaining how in blowing up one portion of the work that was being excavated, the explosion had thrown the material back into and filled up a part already completed, he turned to me and said : "Grant, do you know what this reminds me of? In Springfield, Illinois, there was a blacksmith named —. One day, when he did not have much to do, he took a piece of soft iron that had been in his shop for some time, and for which he had no special use, and starting up his fire, began to heat it. When hot he carried it to the anvil and began to hammer it, thinking he would weld it into an agricultural implement. He pounded away for some time until he got it fashioned into some shape, when he discovered that the iron would not hold out to complete the implement he had in mind. He then put it back into the forge, heated it up again, and recommenced hammering, with an ill-defined notion that he would make a claw-hammer, but after a time he came to the conclusion that there was more iron there than was needed to form a hammer. Again he heated it, and thought he would make an axe. After hammering and welding it

into shape, knocking the oxydized iron off in plates, he concluded there was not enough of the iron left to make an axe that would be of any use. He was now getting tired and a little disgusted at the result of his various essays. So he filled his forge full of coal, and after placing the iron in the centre of the heap, took the bellows and worked up a tremendous blast, bringing the iron to a white heat. Then, with his tongs, he lifted it from the bed of coals and, thrusting it into a tub of water near by, exclaimed with an oath, 'Well, if I can't make anything else of you, I will make a fizzie, anyhow?'

I replied that I was afraid that was about what we had done with the Dutch Gap Canal.

RICE'S *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*

A CAROLINA BOURBON

W. M. P., AET. 79

Ridiculous to some may seem
This relic of the old *régime*,
So rudely wakened from his dream
 Of high ambition.

A heart of nature's noblest mold,
By honor tempered and controlled—
Oh ! look not in a soul so bold
 For mock contrition.

Of name and lineage proud, he bore
The character 'mongst rich and poor
Which marks now, as in days of yore,
 The Huguenot.

Two hundred slaves were in his train ;
Six thousand acres broad domain
(His ancestors in fair Touraine
 Had no such lot).

For, when the die of war was cast,
And through the land the bugle blast
Called all to arms, from first to last,
 For Carolina ;
Careless of what might be his fate,
He gave his all to save the state ;
He thought, thinks now (strange to relate),
 No cause diviner.

He feared and worshiped God ; and then
Women, for whom, with tongue and pen,
He used all safeguards in his ken
 Without pretense.

Fearless of men as old John Knox,
He practiced customs heterodox,
Believing duels women's rocks
 Of strong defense.

He loved and wooed in early days ;
She died. And he her memory pays
The highest tribute. For, with ways
 And views extreme,

He, 'gainst stern facts and common
sense,
To the whole sex (to all intents)
Transferred the love and reverence
 Of life's young dream.

Perhaps too easy life he led—
Four hours afield and ten abed,
His other time he talked and read,
 Or else made merry
With many a planter friend to dine,
His health to drink in fine old wine—
Madeira, which thrice crossed the line,
 And gold-leaf sherry.

And here was mooted many a day,
The question on which each *gourmet*
Throughout the parish had his say :

Which is the best,

Santee or Cooper river bream ?
Alas ! the evening star grew dim,
Ere any guest agreed with him,
Or he with guest.

The war rolled on ; and many a friend
And kinsman whom he helped to send
Our home and country to defend,
Home ne'er returned.

What harder lot could now befall ?
Threats could not bend or woes appall ;
Unmoved, he saw his father's hall
To ashes burned.

And now, to live within his means,
He dons his gray Kentucky jeans
(His dress in other times and scenes
Was *drap d'été*).

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

His hat is much the worse for wear,
His shoes revamped from year to year,
For calf-skin boots are all too dear,
We hear him say.

So life drags on as in a trance ;
No *émigré* of stricken France,
No Jacobite of old romance,
Of sterner mold.

His fortune gone, his rights denied,
For him the Federal Union died
When o'er Virginia's line the tide
Of battle rolled.

Loyal je serai durant ma vie ;
So runs his motto, and naught cares he
For the nation that rules o'er land and sea
And tops the world.
Under the shadow he lives and waits,
'Till the angels open the pearly gates,
For his hopes went down with the South-
ern states,
And the flag that's furled.

YATES SNOWDEN

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S MANORIAL RIGHTS

As much has been written and said of late concerning the manorial privilege granted to Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, and his associates, I give below an extract from the original patent for the benefit of those interested. His charter dates from 1629 and gives New England to a council composed of the Earl of Warwick, Earl of Arundel, Marquis of Hamilton, and others, who in turn give Plymouth to the now famous governor and his associates.

" Now know yee that the said councell by virtue and authority of his said late Majestie's letters pattems and for and in consideracon that *William Bradford* and his associatts have for these nine yeares lived in New England aforesaid, and have there inhabited and planted a towne called by the name of New Plimouth, att their own proper cost and charges: And now seeing that by the special Providence of God and their extraordinary care and industry, they have encreased their plantacon to neer three hundred people and are upon all occasions able to relieve any new planters or others his Majestie's subjects whoe may fall uppon that coaste; have given, granted, bargained, sould, enfeoffed, allotted, assigned and sett over,

and by these presents doe cleerely and absolutely give, grant, bargaine, sell, alien, enfeoffe, allott, assigne and confirm unto the said *William Bradford*, his *heires*, associatts and assignes all that part of New England in America aforesaid," etc.

A small portion of this immense tract, a remnant of the inheritance of the governor's eldest son, Deputy Governor the Hon. William Bradford (who, like his father, never accepted the title of lord of the manor), is now held by one of the name having been in the possession of his branch for over two hundred and fifty years.

GRACE BRADFORD FAIRFAX

MR. W. H. BUELL

In the death of Mr. W. H. Buell, on the 16th of July last, Marietta, Ohio, has lost one of her most public-spirited citizens. He was a well-poised man, of strong character, generous, warm-hearted, with charming social qualities, and one who was remarkably correct in his intellectual methods. His name is historic, being associated with the progress and best interests of Marietta ever since its settlement in 1788—his grandfather, General Joseph Buell, having been among the pioneers. General Buell came as a young unmarried soldier to Fort Harmar in 1786, where he was stationed until 1787. He purchased considerable property, and settled in Marietta with his young wife in 1789, living until the Indian war was over in the stockaded fort. He concerned himself actively in both civil and military affairs, was a judge of the court of common pleas, a state senator for several terms, and in 1803 was appointed one of the two major-generals of militia of the state of Ohio. It was while he held this position that the famous Burr conspiracy culminated, and the Blennerhassett boats, laden with supplies, and with the intention of carrying Blennerhassett and a number of the selected young men of this part of Ohio to Louisiana for purposes believed to be treasonable, were about to start from Marietta. Prior to this event Aaron Burr, in visiting Marietta, had been entertained at dinner by General Buell, who tried in vain to discover whether his guest's intentions bore the stamp of disloyalty. The boats had been built about five miles above Marietta, on the Muskingum river, and when they came down in the night and attempted to run past the town, they were promptly arrested by General Buell, under special instructions; the original order is extant in possession of his descendants. Marietta was placed under military law, a rescue being feared, and the Ohio river so covered by guns as to prevent the passage of any boats from above to points below. It was an exciting moment in the history of that region. The results of General Buell's action were fatal to Burr's treasonable schemes. Mr. W. H. Buell possessed many of the estimable traits of both his father and grandfather, and has honored the historic name he bore. His memory will be cherished by a large circle of devoted friends.

NOTES

A GOOD OLD ENGLISH GENTLEWOMAN
—LONDON, December 24th, 1767—The following receipt as a cure for hunger is said to be practiced by a good woman in this city. At eight in the morning (as soon as she rises), a pint of two penny purl. At nine, breakfast, tea and hot rolls. At eleven, rasher of bacon, a broiled pigeon, or chicken, with a pint of porter, and a gill or two of mountain. At three, a glass of rum or brandy. At five, tea or coffee, with muffins. At nine, a hot supper, with a pint of porter. After supper, some warm punch. When in bed, a glass of brandy.

PETERSFIELD

SIR JOHN MACDONALD—Many a man who has gone to see Sir John with rather ruffled feelings has lost his anger or annoyance as soon as he entered the door of his room, either in the Parliament Buildings or at Earnscliff, so contagious was his cheeriness. Greeted heartily, told a good story, or several of them (all his personal friends who got hold of a good story made a point of sending it to Sir John), a pleasant quarter of an hour would be spent and good-bye said before any business could be entered upon. Practical joking he had an especial fondness for, as a young man, and not the least amusing of the stories told of him in this connection related to a letter of introduction of a jocular character given to him and some companions by an old friend to the proprietor of a hotel in a place to which he was proceeding. It stated that John A.

and two or three companions were going to pay him a visit—that he was to look after them, but to be sure that they paid, and paid well, for everything they might have.

Imitating handwriting was one of young Macdonald's accomplishments, and a post-script to the effect that the writer had changed his mind, that he wished them to have as much champagne as they could drink, and the account to be sent to him, was soon added. The writing and the signature being perfectly imitated, it quite deceived the hotel proprietor, who complied literally with the request in the addendum. Sir John's handwriting was exceedingly neat, and the number of letters he was accustomed to write himself was remarkable; in this respect he somewhat resembled Mr. Gladstone, and the wonder is how he found the time. With the gentlemen of the Fourth Estate he was always on good terms. Passing along the street to his office one morning, just before the dissolution of Parliament in February last, he was asked by a reporter when the dissolution was to take place, to which he replied that as he had not yet seen the papers, he did not quite know, and that they generally settled such questions for him.

It is usually considered that he showed some facial resemblance to Lord Beaconsfield, and he was once asked by a friend if he thought so himself. He answered, jocularly, that he supposed it was a great compliment to pay him, but that up to that time he had thought himself passably good looking. In

another respect he resembled the Lord of Hughenden, as he was somewhat of a dandy, without, however, going to any extremes; he had a great partiality for a red necktie, and was rarely without one.—*The Fortnightly Review*.

QUERIES

PORTRAIT OF JAMES MADISON—Dunlap says, Vol. 1, page 314: "Among other distinguished men Mr. Wright painted the portrait of Mr. Madison." I have before me a note from Mr. Madison to the painter containing an apology for not sitting at an appointed time and fixing another time, "if agreeable to Mr. Wright." Will some one kindly tell me where this portrait of James Madison by Joseph Wright is? Dunlap also says, Vol. 1, page 408: "that Cerracchi made a bust of Egbert Benson." Where is this bust?

CLARENCE W. BOWEN

NEW YORK CITY

NAME FOR TWO CITIES—*Editor of Magazine of American History* : St.

ARCHAIC

MONTRÉAL, CANADA

REPLIES

YANKEE, YANKOO [xxv. 179, 256, xxvi. 75]—When the Holland Society made its famous pilgrimage to Holland in 1888, the party of fifty was entertained at The Hague, among other places, and there gave a little dinner of its own at the Hotel Bellevue, at which Hon. H. D. Levysohn-Norman, member of the Second Chamber of the States General, and chairman of the hospitable Reception Committee at The Hague, in the course of a very interesting speech said: "Yankee is an alteration of the Dutch word Jantje (pronounced Yantyea), equivalent to Johnnie, a nickname of the Dutch

people. In the days of the revolution of 1830, the Belgian insurgents gave often to a Dutchman the nickname of "Jantje Kaas (Johnnie Cheese)." So that Yankee is derived from Jan (John), Jantje being its diminutive."

By the way, Mr. Levysohn-Norman has just been re-elected, as a Liberal, to the States General by an enormous majority.

G. W. V. S.

ENGLISHMAN CHOSEN POPE [xxvi. 157]—Nicholas Breakspear, the only English pope, was born at Langley, near

St. Albans, about the year 1100, or somewhat earlier. From a condition of extreme poverty he rose through the successive gradations of the Roman hierarchy to become cardinal bishop of Albano, and in 1154 he was unanimously chosen by the Sacred College as the successor of St. Peter, being thenceforth known as Adrian the fourth. Henry of Anjou ascended the English throne in the same year, and the new pope gave the new king a most munificent present, being no less than the realm of Ireland. Professions of extreme reluctance to accept the tiara were so common that one is perhaps inclined at times to doubt their sincerity; but in the present case they may have been genuine, for Adrian found Rome in a state of anarchy. The people of the city had defied the secular authority of five successive pontiffs within little more than ten years. Adrian laid the city under an interdict, and the affrighted inhabitants bowed in submission before the terrible spiritual weapon. Their ringleader, Arnold of Brescia, was, by the timely aid of Frederick Redbeard of Germany, who came to Rome to receive his imperial crown at the hands of the Englishman, hunted out and burned alive. Secure in his triumph over his subject, Adrian turned against his ally, thus laying the foundation of that persistent papal enmity which wrought the ruin of the House of Hohenstaufen a century later. He reigned five years and died in 1159 at Anagni.

FREDERICK G. HARRISON

MARLBORO, MASSACHUSETTS

ENGLISHMAN CHOSEN POPE [xxvi.
157]—Pope Adrian IV. was the only

pope of English birth. There have been six who bore the name Adrian. The fourth was an Englishman, Nicholas Breakspear. From a position not only of servitude but of want he raised himself to the highest place of dignity in the Church. He was born before 1100 at Langley, in Hertfordshire. He filled a menial position in the monastery of St. Rufus, near Avignon, and subsequently became its abbot in 1139. For his extreme severity in discipline he was complained of to Pope Eugene III., who in consequence conferred on him the rank of cardinal and sent him as legate to Norway in 1148. His reputation at this period was like that borne by Apollos, the companion of St. Paul, an eloquent man and mighty in the Scriptures. He was also famous for his generosity, which character he bore to the end of his life. In 1154 (Nov.) he was unanimously elected pope and received congratulations from Henry II. of England, who sent ambassadors to Rome accompanied by monks of St. Albans, who, having rejected him from their society in his youth on account of his lack of education, he took occasion to mildly rebuke. He was jealous of the usurped prerogatives of the papal chair, and compelled Frederick Barbarossa, whom he afterward consented to crown emperor, to hold his stirrup while he mounted his horse. His life was stormy and contentious, arising out of his own claims and the asserted rights of the civil rulers. He died September 1, 1159, having reigned a little less than five years, so poor that he commended his mother to the support of the church of Canterbury. He was the founder of

the *penny tribute* to the papal see in Ireland. Adrian did as much probably to extend the papal authority as any other pope, excepting only Gregory VII.

REV. GEO. G. HEPBURN

NEW YORK CITY

THE STATE OF FRANKLIN [xxvi. 48, 157]—*Dear Editor:* I desire, in the interest of accurate history, to correct a correction which appears in your last. It was Franklin, not Frankland. The commonwealth organized by John Sevier and others in the early part of 1785, from the territory comprised in what had been known as the Washington district of North Carolina, which afterward became Washington county of that state, and which still later became the present state of Tennessee, was named Franklin and not Frankland. A temporary form of government was organized, and Sevier entered upon the duties of the office of governor on the 1st of March of that year, and a convention was called to meet in the ensuing November to frame and adopt a permanent constitution. That body met at the appointed time, and one of the delegates, the Rev. Samuel Houston, produced a unique and Utopian document which was doubtless the fruit of a whole summer's tinkering in the noble art of statecraft, and offered it for adoption as the constitution of the new state. It was read, discussed, and rejected, and upon motion of Sevier the laws and constitution of the

parent state, with some few modifications, were continued and adopted for the new commonwealth.

In this rejected document the state was to be called Frankland, but it is here stated, without the fear of contradiction, that such was never for a moment the legal or accepted designation of the unique organization which for three years maintained an independent existence. Sevier himself, in his state and private correspondence, wrote it Franklin; the late Dr. Ramsey, who devoted fifty years to the history of his beloved state, called it Franklin; James R. Gilmore, who knows more of that country than any other living man today, writes it down Franklin, and so did the late Congressman Phelan, whose history of the state has recently been adopted as a text-book in her schools. Our cousins across the mountains never did give us attention enough to be accurate. That was one thing Sevier complained of when he set up the state of Franklin.

MILTON T. ADKINS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

PORY, NOT PORG [xxvi. 61]—In the article on “The Genesis of the United States,” in this magazine for July, 1891, on p. 61, line 10 from bottom, for *Porg* read *Pory*. On p. 62, lines 6 and 7 from top, for *before* 1599 read in each instance *before*—i.e., in 1599.

ALEXANDER BROWN

BOOK NOTICES

CHRONICLES OF THE BUILDERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH. Historical Character Study. By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Volume I. 8vo, pp. 643. The History Company, San Francisco : Frank M. Derby, General Agent, 149 Church street, New York City. 1891.

Mr. Bancroft now adds to his vast historical enterprise—the history of the Pacific States—the first volume of a new series of biographical and character studies of the men who were prominent in shaping events and establishing civilization on the Pacific coast. The conditions attending the development of California were very peculiar. Within fifty years this state has burst from a primeval wilderness into a garden of beauty. Prosperous farms, the best of roads, comfortable dwellings, rich mines in operation, manufactures established, hundreds of miles of irrigating canals, towns and cities with their busy hives of industry, and commercial, postal, express, telegraph, and railroad facilities everywhere—may be seen at a glance. Mr. Bancroft tells us that in his history proper he accorded the usual space and attention to the men who achieved these results, and gave fully and freely biographical notices of greater or less extent ; but this was not enough. "They were not merely historical characters in the ordinary sense, but something more. They were not alone factors or originators of progress : they were authors of actualities, creators of commonwealths, having with their own hands fashioned from raw materials the fabrics of destiny." The period is thus described by the author : "The year 1848 was the date of the gold discovery. Steam had then been applied to locomotive engines scarcely twenty years. Steam navigation, both on inland waters and on the ocean, was in a crude condition. Indeed, eight years had scarcely elapsed since the first ocean steamship had been turned out of the New York yards, and but one year since the first United States mail steamship had been launched upon the ocean. The first line of magnetic telegraph in the world, that from New York to Washington, had not been four years in operation. The first express line in the world, that between New York and Boston, had not been nine years running, and still assumed only the most insignificant proportions. Throughout all this western region there was scarcely a wheeled conveyance except a few emigrant wagons and the Mexican 'carreta,' or solid-wood-wheel cart ; there were no agricultural or other implements of civilization worthy of the name ; few if any farms, and little or no farm stock ; there was scarcely a

wagon road, except the natural prairie or the widened pack-mule trail ; scarcely a postoffice, or any regular intercommunication anywhere, by land or water. All was a primeval wilderness ; the faint sprinkling of settlers in certain parts, and the attempt at towns around the mission establishments on the seaboard south of San Francisco Bay, hardly affected the face of nature at all. Hot-air power, electric lighting, telephone talking, and like miracles of science, were as far beyond human anticipation as was the way in which Puck was to put a girdle around the earth in forty minutes." Furthermore one of the greatest Americans of the period, and indeed of all time—Daniel Webster—believed the whole of the far west to be so worthless that he opposed, from his place in the senate, an appropriation bill providing a small amount for the establishment of a tentative postal route in that region. Mr. Bancroft enthusiastically declares that "within the territory of which we have been speaking has been performed the greatest work the world has ever witnessed or will ever again behold." He continues : "I speak advisedly. No such miracle of development within so short a period has ever before come to pass ; and it never can happen again, because the engendering conditions can never be duplicated. Less than half a century has here sufficed for progress never before achieved in a thousand years ; in many respects never before achieved at all."

He opens the volume with a characterization of John Jacob Astor, who was actuated in his greatest enterprise, the settlement of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia river, less by considerations of pecuniary profit than by the zest of a vast design which had gradually developed in his mind, and which aimed at the exploration and civilization of the Pacific coast through the medium of commerce and colonization. The chapter is illustrated with excellent portraits of John Jacob Astor, William B. Astor, John Jacob Astor (second), and William Waldorf Astor. Other biographies are of Frederick Billings, Benito Juarez, Frey Junipero Serra, William T. Coleman, Judge Stephen J. Field, Irving Murray Scott, William Gilpin, and William S. Ladd and his son, W. M. Ladd, illustrated with the portraits of each. These lives are so skillfully set, each in an appropriate historical framework, that they individually convey clear impressions of the times in which the subject lived and worked, the influences that moved and molded him, his own influence upon his surroundings, and the position to which he is entitled in a general estimate of the circumstances. It would be difficult to select any ten careers more variously adventurous and interesting than these. The sketches abound with

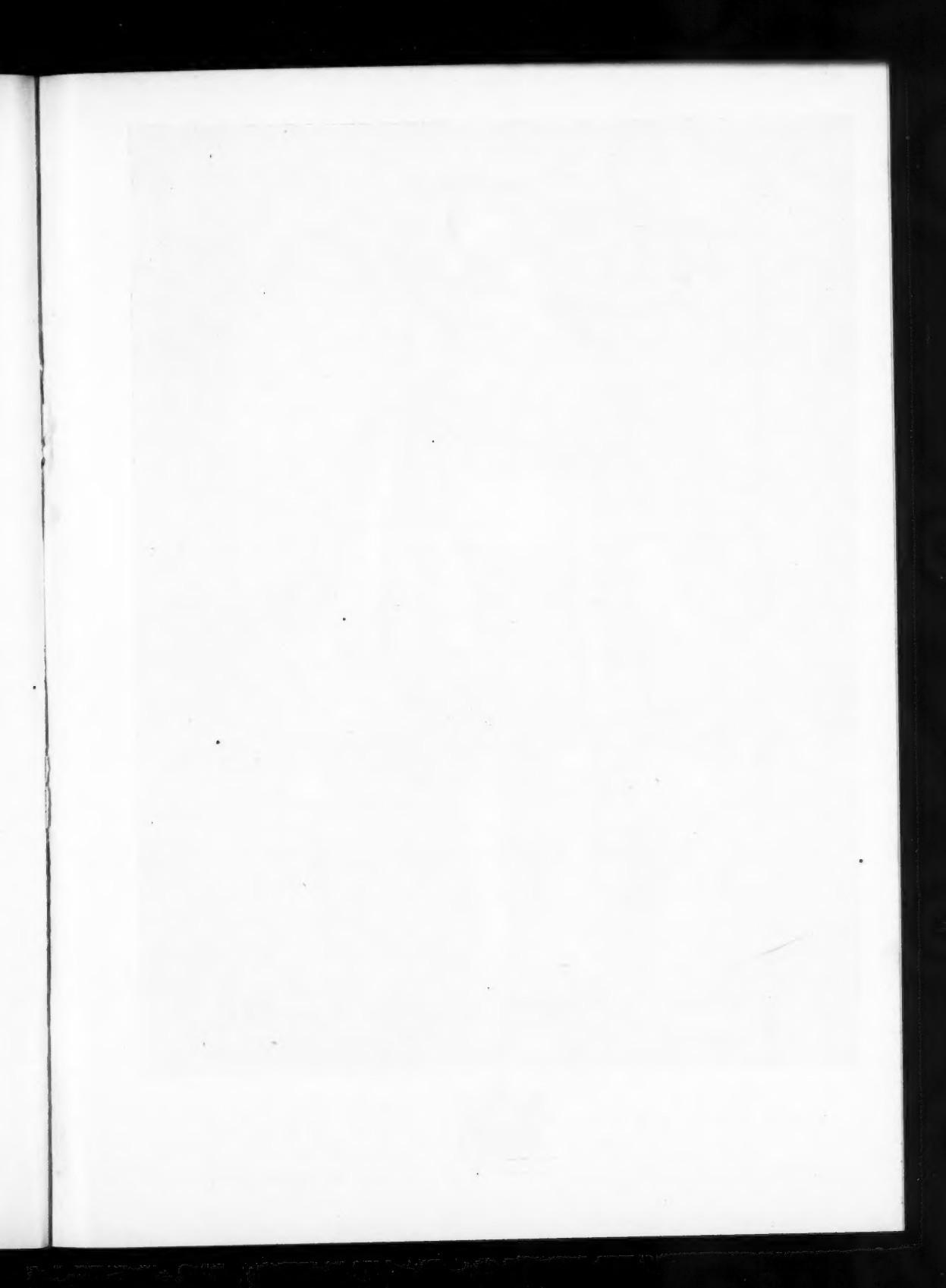
incidents and all manner of telling situations. Extracts from the career of William T. Coleman appear in another part of this number of the magazine, the story of whose life has a peculiar fascination, as he was the hero of the famous San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856. The chapter on Stephen J. Field of the Supreme Court is one of thrilling interest. Ex-Governor William Gilpin furnishes material as sensational as any romance. He was one of those who did much to advance the idea of a Pacific railway when few believed it practicable, and he is now planning a railway to encircle the entire earth. The work is of universal interest and importance.

A COMMENTARY ON THE CAMPAIGN
AND BATTLE OF MANASSAS, of July,
1861. Together with a summary of the Art
of War. By GENERAL G. T. BEAUREGARD.
8vo, pp. 187. New York: G. P. Putnam's
Sons. 1891.

This book has been prepared and published as a response to certain statements made by General Joseph E. Johnston in an article published in the *Century Magazine* for May, 1885. The controversy between the two Confederate generals, Beauregard and Johnston, hinges on the question as to which was in actual command at the battle of Manassas, and to which belongs the credit for the superior strategy and tactics of the army which won the first important battle of the civil war. General Beauregard presents an elaborate argument in support of his statement that General Johnston, arriving on the field the day before the fight with only six thousand of his own men, although the superior officer, waived his right to command in person and directed that Beauregard's original plan of operations be carried out, and left with the latter the actual command and direction of the battle about to take place. General Beauregard states that when General Johnston arrived at Manassas Junction he explained to the latter his knowledge and views of the military situation, and as Johnston was the ranking officer expected him to assume direct command; but that Johnston said as he had hurried to Beauregard's assistance, who knew both the country and the troops and had already made his preparations for the battle, while he himself was a stranger in those parts, he preferred Beauregard should command. This has been the generally known history of that affair. The work is a careful commentary on the facts, and, while it is from first to last an argument, it includes much information in regard to that well-known battle, and will prove a valuable contribution to the literature of the civil war in America.

ELECTRICITY IN DAILY LIFE. A Popular Account of the Applications of Electricity to Everyday Uses. By ten eminent writers. With one hundred and twenty-five illustrations: 8vo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The initial chapter in this valuable and comprehensive work, entitled "Electricity in the Service of Man," is from the pen of Professor C. F. Brackett of Princeton College, who very pertinently says that "electrical phenomena have come to be such important factors in the daily administration of human affairs that the age in which we are living may, with a certain propriety, be called the age of electricity." "The Electric Motor and its Applications," an ably-written chapter by Franklin Leonard Pope, past president of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, and the "Electric Railway of To-day," by Joseph Wetzler, editor of the *Electrical Engineer*, furnish an unlimited amount of practical information and suggestions for the general reader as well as the scientist. The other chapters, and they are of great merit and utility, are "Electricity in Lighting," by Henry Morton, president of the Stevens Institute of Technology; "The Telegraph of To-day," by Charles L. Buckingham of the Western Union Telegraph Company; "The Making and Laying of a Cable," by Herbert Laws Webb; "Electricity in Naval Warfare," by Lieutenant Walter S. Hughes, U. S. N.; "Electricity in Land Warfare," by Lieutenant John Millis, U. S. A.; "Electricity in the Household," by A. E. Kennelly, electrician of Edison's Laboratory, and "Electricity in Relation to the Human Body," by M. Allen Starr, M.D. The vast theme is by no means exhausted by these experts in the various branches of the science of electricity, but the volume is one which no intelligent citizen, interested in original research, can afford to miss. It is pleasant reading, and will serve to stimulate the inquiring mind into investigations hitherto unthought of. The field is boundless, and what has been achieved will lead others to undertake the solution of troublesome problems. The book has inspired an article on the various steps by which electricity has been brought under the power of the human will for practical purposes in another part of this magazine, in which many facts are chronicled for the help of the scholar. "Enough has been accomplished," says Mr. Wetzler, "to show that electricity is destined to be one of the most powerful factors entering into our social conditions, and that the ease of distribution and convenience of power afforded by it must bring forth changes in the social order which are even now hardly imagined."





NAPOLÉON

1810. à Paris. Chez J. Lefèvre. Rue du Temple. N° 2.



LE GRAND.

Dédié à la Division Générale de l'Empereur et de la Nation.

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A GROUP OF COLUMBUS PORTRAITS

WITH every great historic celebration the projectors become unwittingly the important instruments through which an overwhelming patriotic public sentiment finds expression. Men about to act the part of leaders they are themselves led, or pushed, rather, by the forces already existing, into the current which sweeps them to their destination. This was conspicuously true at the time of the Washington celebration in 1889, and it is strikingly foreshadowed for the approaching centennial of the nations in the phenomenal interest suddenly awakened in the personality of Christopher Columbus. Very little has been heard of him in late years, except through the researches and publications of antiquarians and specialists. Indeed, he seems to have been packed away among the school-books, as if an ineligible candidate for public favor, and only brought out at intervals when infant classes made their debut upon the stage. Now the entire world is in quest of information. The man who four hundred years ago faced the perils of unknown waters to solve the mystery of his time is the hero of the hour. The long sleep of many generations of people has been disturbed. Students and writers and readers of every grade are exploring the remote past, and the figure of Columbus, his lineage, opportunities, attainments, characteristics, and achievements, are enlisting universal scrutiny and attention.

The portraits of Columbus are not numerous. It has been surmised that there was no true likeness of the illustrious navigator extant, but this theory cannot be accepted without proof. In recent months this magazine has published five Columbus portraits* of special value as souvenirs.

* "Columbus in Chains." Fac-simile of an engraved copy of the painting by G. Wappers. Stuttgart. *Magazine of American History*, April, 1890 [xxiii: 264].

"Columbus Explaining his Theory of a New World to the Prior of the Franciscan Convent of Santa Maria de Rabida." Fac-simile of an engraved copy of the painting by M. Diaz. Wobas. R. A. *Magazine of American History*, May, 1890 [xxiii: 353, 406].

"Columbus at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella." Fac-simile of the painting by Corral, in Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *Magazine of American History*, April, 1891 [xxv, 269].